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WORKING THE ORACLE

BY

LIONEL C. HOPKINS, I.S.O.

IT is now close on twenty years since the finding of the bone, tortoise-shell, deershorn and ivory relics in Honan. Broken into fragments as they were, and the circumstances attending their exhumation by ignorant peasants disappointingly vague as they have proved, the incriptions on their surfaces, now agreed by all to be of Shang dynasty date, have opened a new chapter in the history of Chinese writing. And since these inscriptions are originals, all that they contain is authentic, and impervious to attack on the score of forgery, interpolations, or the errors of editors and transcribers. The material is very considerable in amount, but being what it is,—the records of inquiries addressed to the ancestors of the Shang royal line by their descendants, upon a limited field of subjects, the range of information to be gained from the find is correspondingly restricted. Thus, the objective value of the knowledge afforded by the oracular reply to a question whether a given day would be suitable for a given sacrifice is not, it may be argued, much above zero. Nor are we advanced far in our views of the origin of the Chinese race, or the nature of primitive East Asian civilization, when we have ascertained authoritatively that it would not rain on an

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unverifiable day in an uncertain month of an unspecified year about thirty-five centuries ago.

So much I freely concede in advance to those critics of the What's-the-good-of-it-all school, those who demand of all research in all branches of science that it should yield immediate dividends expressible in terms of utilitarian profits, and who, if this cannot be precisely guaranteed, consider that such investment of time and labour is speculative, imprudent, and fruitless. Having, however, a great infidelity towards such narrow, shallow, and unimaginative doctrines, especially in the light of what the War has shown to us, I am not about to argue the point. I shall only say that I believe the direct contrary to correspond more to the truth, and that I adhere to the forces of those who march to the inspiring air of "You never know, y' know."

In fact, faith and imagination are equally demanded for scientific as for religious progress. Key positions are not so often won by direct frontal attack, as turned by filtering advances through many apparently insignificant and disconnected points.

One such point, I hope, is provided by the subject of the present paper, based mainly on the investigations and analyses of a great Chinese scholar, who, I know, believes himself to be only a voice crying in the wilderness. In this I trust he is mistaken.

The work of Mr. Lo Chên-yü (羅振玉) to which reference is made is the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih* 殷虛書契考釋 or "Critical Interpretation of the Records of the Tumulus of Yin."

The book is divided into eight Sections, as the result of the author's analytic labours on the collections of the Honan fragments accessible to him, which I may add do not include any of those procured through the hands of Messrs. Chalfant and Couling.

The first Section, of two pages, treats of the dynastic Capital cities, 都邑 *tu i*. The second is on the Shang sovereigns, 帝王 *ti wang*. The third relates to personal names, 人名 *jên ming*. The fourth to topographical names, 地名 *ti ming*. The fifth, comprising 58 pages, is an

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annotated list of deciphered characters, 文字 *wên tzŭ*, with examples of their variants, concluding with some remarkable unknown characters. The sixth is on the oracular sentences, 卜辭 *pu tz'u*, which as transcribed in modern writing, fill 27 pages, and from which the examples in this paper are taken. The seventh illustrates ritual 禮制 *li chih*. The eighth and last discusses the method of divining, 卜法 *pu fa*. It is with the sixth and eighth of these Sections that this paper is concerned.

Mr. Lo Chên-yü introduces the sixth Section, on "The oracular sentences," with the following passage:—

"The characters themselves having been elucidated (in section 5), the oracular sentences can then be read. On the other hand, the style of writing of the men of the Shang dynasty was very concise, and the written tablets sometimes recorded several different matters. Moreover, borrowed characters being numerous, it is often possible to decipher the characters without being able to discover the meaning.

"We are now able by means of the classification of the topics of divination by tortoise-shell, to divide them under the following eight heads. These are, inquiries as to (1) the sacrifice known as *tsi* 祭; (2) that known as *kao* 告, or announcement; (3) that known as *shun* 巡; (4) ordinary journeys, *lit.*, going out and entering, *ch'u ju* 出入, (5) hunting, *t'ien lieh* 田獵; (6) military expeditions, *chêng fa* 征伐; (7) the year's harvest, *nien* 年; and (8) the weather, *fêng yii* 風雨."

Then follow 27 pages of inscriptions transcribed in modern text, each supported by the particular reference to Lo's previous work, the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i* 殷虛書契 or "Records of the Tumulus of Yin," where the facsimiles of the inscribed relics have been reproduced. It is from these facsimiles that the examples appearing on the Plate to the present article have been copied. I should add that where Lo has not been able discern the present equivalent of any character, he reproduces the original faithfully in its place in the modern transcribed text.

I propose to submit to the readers of this Review specimens under each of the eight categories specified above

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as subjects of divination. The reference numbers accompanying each passage correspond to those attached to the facsimiles in the Plate. The English rendering of course is mine, as are also various comments and notes inserted after the translation.

It will probably not be deemed irrelevant, and can hardly fail to prove interesting, to examine under Lo's guidance, as a preliminary, some of the new facts, and the new appreciation of the older facts, actual or believed, which the exhumation of these strange relics has served to establish or suggest, on the subject of divination by tortoise-shell.

In the first place Lo points out that besides the tortoise, the bones of certain other animals were employed by the diviners' caste.

Of the tortoise, the plastron, *fu chia* 腹甲, alone was used, for the carapace, *pei chia* 背甲, being thicker and having an uneven external surface, it was not easy to develop fissures upon it, 不易作兆 *pu i tso chao*. When other animals' bones were taken, the shoulder-blades 肩胛 *chien chia*, and shank-bones 脛骨 *ching ku*, the latter being first split, were those selected.

The tortoise-shell was reserved for inquiries regarding sacrificial services. For all other matters bones were used, but not indiscriminately. About hunting, the oracle was consulted specially by means of the shankbone, and Lo asserts that in most cases where recourse was had to the shoulder-blade, inquiries regarding the regulation of frontiers, and the expediency of punitive expeditions, were the objects (疆理征伐之事爲多). This explains, he says, why 90 per cent. of the relics are of animal bones, and only some 10 per cent. of tortoise-shell. I should like to note here that he makes no mention of inscribed deer-horns, which form a small part of the find.

The art of the diviner, when pursued by the vehicle of the tortoise, must have been as slow in its process as they believed it sure in its result. It comprised a mechanical operation described by Lo, which I have been able to verify by my own and other collections. The plastron, or the bone, destined for divination, was first worked to a smooth and

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polished surface, after which sometimes oval holes were made with a chisel, or rather gouge, sometimes round ones with an auger or bit, while at other times within a round hole an additional oval was contrived.

To the tortoise-shell only the gouge was applied. Of the bones, from 10 to 20 per cent. were bored, and 80 to 90 per cent. gouged. Only 5 per cent. exhibit both kinds of operation, which were required only in the case of the thicker bones. Such was the process, adds Lo, that is meant by the term 契 *ch'i*, found in the *Odes* and the *Record of Rites*. Legge, not then in a position to understand the true nature of the operation, translated the word *ch'i* by "singe," and Couvreur, in the latter work, by "billet."

The hollow having been made from the back of the tortoise shell or bone, the next step was the application of heat within the cavity. This was termed 灼 *shao* or scorching. It resulted in the appearance of fine fissures visible on the face of the shell or bone, vertical first, and afterwards lateral crackings starting from the main fissure. Such compound fissures constitute the well-known term 兆 *chao*. Among a large number of examples observed by Lo, he reproduces fifteen varieties, of which the following are some,— , , , , , and . It is pertinent to remark that though these are all faithful representations of actual *chao* or "fissures," yet it is clear that they are the originals not of the character 兆 *chao*, but of the character *pu*. In fact, the former word has not been identified on the bones, and perhaps does not occur there.

Failing the use of gouge or auger, the application of heat would not generate the required cracks. But when thus reinforced, the scorch produces a main fissure corresponding to the main or longitudinal axis of the oval or round cavity. From this main fissure, the smaller branching cracks may have been started by a second application of heat.

Such was the mechanical side of the diviners' mystery, and by, presumably, the variations in the curves and bifurcations of the branching fissures, they ascertained, or professed to ascertain, the good or ill omen disclosed, and as Lo reminds us, they also recorded the nature of the inquiry at

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the side of the oracular fissures. So much he claims we can tell of this ancient system of divination, by the evidence of our own eyes.

At this point I might conveniently leave what many readers will perhaps think the unimportant technicalities of the diviners' craft, but I feel reluctant to pass over the scholarly passage with which Lo Chên-yü concludes his admirable volume. The topics here debated by Lo belong, it is true, to a far-away epoch, and are so remote from all concern with the twentieth century and its normal affairs, apart altogether from the gasping struggle for life of civilization, just terminated, that it may seem hard not to regard the discussion of the questions involved as an exercise of sterile pedantry, and a vain beating of academic air.

"Having learnt," writes Lo, "by ocular demonstration the general character of the system of the ancient divination by fissures (古卜法), and having tested it by the passages in the Third Part of the *Rites of Chou*, the *Book of Odes*, the *Record of Rites*, and the various authors under the Chou and Ch'in dynasties, where such divination is mentioned, and finding for the most part an accord existing, we establish the fact that there was no great difference between the divination methods of the Shang and Chou dynasties, and that Chêng K'ang-ch'êng's annotations on the *Odes* and the *Rituals* contain many errors."

This is because the Han scholars were already unable to grasp clearly the mode of divination practised under the Shang and Chou dynasties. The *Ta Ya* Section of the *Odes* contains the line 爰契我龜 *yüan ch'i wo kuei*, (see Legge's *Chinese Classics*, Vol. 4 Part 2, p. 438, where he translates this by "There he singed the tortoise-shell," adding that he "cannot tell why 我 is used before 龜"). The word *ch'i* in that Ode is the same as the *ch'ieh* in the sentence of Hsün Tzŭ 荀子, "鍥而不舍之 *ch'ieh êrh pu shê chih*," that is, "(sound wood) is carved and not thrown aside," and 契 is the primitive form of 鍥. In early times the word 契 *ch'i* was usually defined as 刻 *k'ê* to carve.

(The *I Hsi Chiu Chia Chu* 易繫九家注; the *Shih Ming* 釋名; the *Kuang Ya* 廣雅, Section *Shih Yen* 釋言;

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the *Biography of Mei Ch'êng* 枚乘傳 in the *Han Shu* with collected annotations; the Notes on the *Biography of Chang Hêng* in the *Hou Han Shu* 張衡傳注; all to the same effect. Lo's note).

What Han Fei Tzŭ, and the Section on the Chief Diviner, 大卜, *Ta Pu*, in the *Chou Li*, with Chêng Ssŭ-nung's comment thereon, refer to as 鑿龜 *tso kuei*, "chiselling tortoise-shell," and what Chuang Tzŭ, Hsün Tzŭ and Han Fei, together with the Imperial Regulations (王制) Section of the *Record of Rites*, describe as 攅龜 *tsuan kuei* "boring tortoise-shell," are both identical with the term 契 *ch'i*.

(The primary sense of the syllable 契 *ch'i* in the expression 書契 *shu ch'i*, was also that of 刻 *k'ê* to carve. Before the use of bamboo and silk, characters were in all cases incised (刻 *k'ê*), and the oracular sentences are a proof of it. When Chêng Ssŭ-nung in his note on the functions of the 小宰 Hsiao Tsai, or Deputy Administrator-General, treats 書契 *shu ch'i* as equivalent to 符書 *fu shu*, indentures,* that is another and distinct sense of *shu ch'i*. And the word as used in the passage of the Ch'ü Li Section of the *Record of Rites*, 執右契 *chih yu ch'i* "holding in the hand the right half of the note," and also in Kuan Tzŭ in the passsage 使無券契之責, "in the case of a loan without written agreement, are both used in the sense of 符書, or indentures. When the *Shuo Wên* describes 契 *ch'i* as 大約 *ta yo*, a greater Deed, that is taking indentures 符書 as the primary sense, which is probably erroneous. Lo's note).

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* The New English Dictionary under *Indenture*, writes:—Originally both copies were written on one piece of parchment or paper and then cut asunder in a serrated or sinuous line, so that when brought together again at any time, the two edges exactly tallied and showed that they were parts of one and the same original document: hence the expression, 'pair of indentures.' Occasionally a word, sentence, or figure was engrossed on the space where they were divided, as in the space between a bank cheque and its counterfoil."

With regard to the phrase *shu ch'i*, the "Convention écrite" of Biot, which occurs in paragraph 20 of Book 3 of the *Chou Li*. I have been unable to verify Lo Chên-yü's reference. Chêng Ssŭ-nung is not quoted at all on this passage in the Imperial Edition of the *Chou Li*, nor is the expression 符書 there employed by any of the other commentators cited.

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The sense of 契 *ch'i* being 刻 *k'ê*, to carve, the instrument by which carving was done was similarly named. This is what is referred to in the paragraph of the *Chou Li* (Book 24, Par. 19) headed 萑氏 *ch'ui shih*, the Master of the *ch'ui* wood, where the text is 掌共燋契 *chang kung chiao ch'i*, "whose duty is to provide the charcoal-stick and the chisel." The *ch'i* was what they chiselled with. The *chiao* was what they applied heat with. Tu Tzŭ-ch'un's (杜子春) annotation by itself distinguished clearly, and accords perfectly with the facts,* while Chêng (K'ang-ch'êng) adopts a separate sense of *ch'i*, for in one place he says:—

"In the passage of the 士喪禮 *shih sang li* Section of the *I Li*, running 楚焞置于燋在龜東 *ch'u t'un chih yii chiao tsai kuei tung*, 'the brushwood kindling-sticks were placed on the charcoal to the east of the tortoise-shell,' *ch'u-t'un* is *ch'i*, and was used to scorch the shell"; and in another place Chêng says, "以契柱燋火而飲之契既然以授卜師 *i ch'i chu chiao huo erh yo chih ch'i chi jan i shou pu shih*, sticks the *ch'i* into the burning *chiao* and blows up (the flame), and when the *ch'i* is alight hands it to the augur." And in his comment on the Shih Sang Li passage, Chêng further says, 楚 *ch'u* is 荊 *ching*, brushwood, and 荊焞 *ching t'un* is what was used to bore holes in the tortoise-shell. Chêng was thus the first to fall into the error of treating *ch'i* and *chiao* as one and the same object, and 鑽 *tsuan* and 灼 *shao* as identical processes. And it was owing to Chêng's minute familiarity with the Three Rituals that this error obtained currency. And this is also a trustworthy proof that in the Han era the mode of divination practised in Yin and Chou times was already lost.

K'ung (Ying-ta) in his Commentary on the *Odes* also treats *ch'u t'un* as equivalent to 契 *ch'i*. And Chia, 賈氏, (? Chia Kung-yen) in his Commentary on the *I Li*, also states that in boring the tortoise-shell, brushwood 荊 was used, thus multiplying the brood of error by handing down the dictum of Chêng K'ang-ch'êng. So that when we come to Li Hua

* His note is 契謂契龜之鑿也, "*ch'i* is the term for the chisel used for chiselling the tortoise-shell." He is not further quoted as defining 燋 *chiao*.

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李華 we find him explaining that in divination living tortoises were employed! The greater the interval from antiquity, the less the knowledge of the ancient system.

As regards the practice of employing bones for divination, this is a point on which the old records are silent, but on the other hand, it is mentioned in the Sung Dynastic History, in the Records of the Western Hsia (西夏傳), and in Hsü T'ing's General Description of the Black Tartars (? Bargu Mongols), 黑韃事略. We cannot tell whether these methods of inspecting good or evil presages were identical with the ancient ones, but the Western Hsia had a mode of augury by scorching a sheep's shoulder-blade with burning *moxa* (in the Sung History the character 胛 *chia*, shoulder-blade, is erroneously written 脾 *p'i*, the spleen. Lo's note).

The Black Tartars likewise scorched the 枚子骨 *mei tzŭ ku** of the sheep, and termed the process "burning the guitar" (燒琵琶), and these methods exactly correspond to the Shang practice when divining, of using the shoulder-blade (肩胛骨).

It is indeed a remarkable fact that divination once in use in the Central Country, 中夏 *chung hsia*, should survive only on the fringes of the Empire, but that there, after the lapse of 2,000 years, it should still persist.

Further, what was already obscure to the Han scholars regarding the divination of the Shang and Chou dynasties, Mr. Hu Hou, Vice-President of a Board, in his *Examination of the System of Divination by Tortoise-shell* (卜法詳考), working out the indications found in the Ritual Classics, has determined by his own deductive reasoning. His arguments are extremely ingenious and lucid, and tested by the evidence that I have had under my own eyes, tally with it with perfect accuracy. This is again a plain proof that the scholarship of the present Dynasty (*sic*) surpasses that of all previous ages.

I draw attention to the Work of the Vice-President Hu Hou, because it is at present but little known.

[To be concluded.]

* It is difficult to decide what bone was so named. It may by the tibia of the sheep, but is certainly not the shoulder blade.

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LE GRAND PÉLERINAGE BOUDDHIQUE DE LANG-CHAN ET LES CINQ MONTAGNES DE TONG-TCHEOU

BY

HENRI DORÉ S.J.

[*Continued from p. 56*].

Article IV.—*La montagne du "Glaive," au cours des siècles.*

I. Curiosités naturelles.—

1° L'arête des Corbeaux, point culminant de la montagne du Glaive sur le versant nord. Les corbeaux aiment à voltiger autour de ce haut sommet, et les vautours accrochent leurs aires dans les cavités de son flanc ravagé.

2° Le rocher du Double Homme, formé de deux pierres accolées l'une à l'autre, comme deux hommes, épaule contre épaule.

3° La grotte des Hirondelles, creusée dans le flanc S.E. du rocher. Les hirondelles se réfugient très nombreuses dans cette grotte profonde.

4° La grotte de la Vue sur Mer, peu profonde, large d'une dizaine de pieds et haute de vingt. Elle ressemble à un

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observatoire taillé dans le roc. Le soleil l'inonde de ses premiers feux : on la nommait anciennement, la grotte du Soleil Levant. C'était un poste d'observation de tout premier choix, pour admirer la majestueuse beauté de la mer, quand les vagues déferlaient sur la base rocheuse de la falaise.

5° La grotte des Loutres de Mer, percée dans l'angle S.E. du rocher à l'ouest de l'Observatoire de la Mer. L'entrée haute et étroite est un peu en biais ; à peine y a-t-on pénétré qu'on s'aperçoit qu'elle est fort profonde. Dans les temps anciens, quand la marée pénétrait encore dans cette caverne, les loutres de mer suivaient le flot montant et s'y laissaient introduire.

Bien souvent on l'appelle la caverne des Japonais, Wo-tse-tong 倭子洞, parce que sous les Ming 明 les paysans avaient dû s'y cacher pour échapper à leurs vexations.

6° La grotte de Pou-ti. La caverne de Pou-ti 普提 est ainsi nommée parce que dans les temps anciens un vieux bonze y avait établi sa demeure ; matin et soir il chantait ses prières et récitait son chaplet bouddhique.

Pou-ti 普提 désigne parfois l'Illumination, mais souvent cette expression signifie simplement Bouddha ou bouddhique. Nombre de pagodes consacrées à Bouddha portent le nom de Pou-ti-shan-yuen. *

7° Mo-kien-che 磨劍石, La Pierre à aiguiser les Sabres. Les amateurs de légendes racontent que jadis les dragons des eaux aiguisaient leurs sabres sur cette roche saillante au flanc S.E. Elle est tombée à l'eau.

8° L'Esplanade du suicide, à l'angle S. E. Les vieilles légendes racontent que ceux qui voulaient en finir avec la vie allaient se placer sur cette plate-forme dominant l'abîme, et les esprits venaient les précipiter dans les flots.

9° Plate-forme de la Cuisson de la Pilule, sorte d'esplanade rocheuse assez rapprochée de la Rotonde du Soleil Levant, et sur laquelle le tao-che Tcheng Jo-hiu 陳若盧 installa son fourneau pour la combinaison alchimique de la pilule conférant l'immortalitè. †

° *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. II, pp. 4-11.
† *Ibid.*, liv. III, p. 9.

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10° Le Vivier, appelé aussi le Bassin pour la protection des Êtres Vivants. Sur ses bords on installa le Pavillon de la protection de la Vie. Le Pont des Fleurs odoriférantes se trouvait aussi dans les mêmes parages.

Le vivier a été comblé, il ne reste plus trace du pont ni du pavillon, qui ne sont plus que de vieux souvenirs d'un passé glorieux.*

II. Temples.—

1° Le temple de Ti-tsang-wang 地藏王, bâti au sommet de la montagne, dans la bonzerie Ti-tsang-ngan 地藏菴. Ti-tsang-wang, le Roi des Entrailles de la terre, le Maître des Enfers, honoré spécialement à Kieou-hoa-chan 九華山, au Ngan-hoei 安徽. Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine*, vol. VI, p. 157 *et seq.*

2° Yo-che-tien 藥師殿, temple de Yo-che-fou 藥師佛, Bhaishajyaguru, membre de la Triade bouddhique. Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, vol. VI, p. 85.

3° Hiuen-ti-tien 玄帝殿; temple de Hiuen-ti ou Hiuen-t'ien-chang-ti 玄天上帝, le Chef des Pavillons noirs, plus connu dans le peuple sous le nom de Tcheng-wu 眞武, le vainqueur des démons, divinité taoiste fort en vogue.

4° La pagode du Soleil Levant, élevée juste au-dessus de l'Observatoire de la Mer, au sommet de la paroi inclinée et surplombant les flots.

Les poètes chinois ont chanté en termes pompeux ce site sauvage, véritable antre de dragons, entouré de vieux arbres ruineux. Ils tressaillent au spectacle des beaux matins, quand le globe lumineux monte au-dessus des flots, qui viennent se briser sur la roche en une longue et sinueuse frange d'écume. Leurs vers nous peignent la féerie de ces mille rayons de feu, flèches lumineuses, qui enflamment tout ce qu'elles touchent.†

Article V.—*Les Hôtes de la montagne de l'Armée.*

Avant de décrire les particularités physiques de cette montagne il est nécessaire de donner quelques notes biographiques sur les personnages célèbres qui y ont élu

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. III, pp. 5-14.

† *Ibid.*, liv. V, pp. 12-15.

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domicile, ou dont le passage a été plus spécialement notifié dans l'histoire et les traditions écrites. La mémoire de ces hommes anime pour ainsi dire chaque pli de la roche, et transforme les flancs de la falaise en autant de pages vivantes qui nous mettent devant les yeux les vieux souvenirs d'antan.

Commençons par les Quatre Sages honorés dans la pagode, Se-hien-se **四賢祠**.

1° Fan-Tchong-yen **范仲淹**, nom posthume Wen-tcheng **文正**.

Né à Ou-hien **吳縣** au Sou-tcheou **蘇州**, reçu docteur en 1015 sous Song Tcheng-tsong **宋貞宗**, il remplit plusieurs charges mandarinales pendant le règne de Jen-tsong **仁宗**, 1023-1056. En 1043 il fut admis à la cour, grâce à la protection de Ngeou-yang Sieou **歐陽修**, et mourut âgé de 64 ans. Il a donné son nom à la digue Fan kong-ti, qu'il fit élever sur les bords de la mer. Il est honoré dans les pagodes de Confucius. (Voir *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tome XIII, Confucéisme, partie iii.)

2° Hou Ngan-kouo **胡安國**, nom posthume Wen-ting **文定**, de Tchong-ngan **宗安** du Kien-ning **建寧**, reçu bachelier à 25 ans, éléve de Tchou Tchang-wen, ami de Tcheng I **程頤**, fut reçu au doctorat en 1097, devint grand Examinateur, et mourut à 65 ans, en 1138. Auteur de plusieurs ouvrages célèbres, honoré parmi les Sages dans la pagode de Confucius. Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, partie Confucéisme, tome XIII.

3° Yo Pong-kiu **岳鵬舉**, nom posthume Ou-mou-wang **武穆王** et Ou-Fei **武飛** C'est le célèbre Yo Fei **岳飛**, général des Song **宋**. Il naquit à Tang-Yn-hien **湯陰縣** au Honan, batailla sous Song Hoei-tsong **宋徽宗**, 1122, sous Song Kao-tsong **宋高宗** 1133, etc. Patriote vaillant et dévoué, il tomba victime du traître ministre Tsing-hoei **秦檜**, qui le fit assassiner dans sa prison, avec son fils. L'empereur Hiao-tsong **孝宗** lui fit élever un temple; il fut depuis honoré comme un demi-dieu, type du guerrier. Sous la république chinoise, 1917, il est encore honoré officiellement avec Koan-kong **關公**, le dieu de la guerre.

4° Wen Tien-siang **文天祥**, nom posthume Tchong-lié **忠烈**, naquit à Liu-ling, docteur assistant du Tribunal

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des Rites sous le règne de Song Li-tsong, 宋理宗 période Pao-yeou 寶祐, 1256. Général au Kiangsi, battu par les Mandchoux, il se sauva à Tong-tcheou 通州 avec son compagnon d'infortune, le maréchal Kin 金, à qui il rendit les derniers devoirs. Refusant de se soumettre à l'envahisseur Koublaï Khan, il fut exécuté en 1282: il avait 47 ans. *

Ces petites notices nous aideront à comprendre la vénération des Chinois pour la pagode des Quatre Sages. Il y en a pour tous les goûts: les militaires ont leur héros de prédilection, les lettrés y trouvent deux littérateurs de la pagode Confucéenne, enfin les habitants du pays s'honorent d'avoir donné l'hospitalité à un des derniers tenants de la dynastie chinoise des Ming. Ce choix ne manque point d'habilité.

5° Yen tchen-jen 燕眞人, le génie taoiste Yen, dont le nom personnel était Hoan 幻. La date de son existence est inconnue; les notices que les écrivains nous ont laissées rapportent seulement qu'après avoir voyagé par monts et par vaux, cet homme excentrique se retira dans la solitude de Kiun-chan. Il vivait dans une grotte creusée dans le flanc rocailleux de l'îlot, let ouvrant vers le S.E. Sur une large roche aplatie, non loin de l'entrée de sa caverne, il mena à bonne fin ses expériences d'alchimie, et composa la précieuse pilule d'immortalité. De là vient son nom: Esplanade de la cuisson de la pilule.

Dans ces temps primitifs l'îlot de Kiun-chan 軍山 était infesté de bêtes fauve et de serpents; personne n'osait y aborder, l'immortel Yen Hoan y vécut pourtant en paix avec ses féroces compagnons. Hiver comme été, il portait le même habit.

Un jour qu'il passait le pont de l'Ivre-mort, au sud de la ville de Tong-tcheou 通州, on vit des nuages s'amonceler tout autour de lui et le nimber d'une fumeuse auréole. Après ce prodige le pont échangea son premier nom, contre celui de Pont de la Vision de l'Immortel.

Un jour il dit subitement à ses visiteurs, "Je dois partir." Alors sans avoir éprouvé le moindre malaise, il quitta la

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, p. 8; *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, vol. XII, (Yo Fei).

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terre, glissa sur l'azur du ciel, et disparut à leurs yeux interdits. *

6° Le bonze Tche-tsong 智宗, prénom Fa-kong 法空, vécut au XVIIe siècle. Il fut l'ami du maréchal Wang Yang-té 王揚德, promu au poste de commandant en chef de Lang-chan en 1626.

Ce bonze, né au Shansi 山西, était d'un naturel sérieux, ne comprenant pas la plaisanterie. Pendant sa jeunesse il visita les bonzeries célèbres, puis, un jour, prenant son chapelet bouddhique à la main, il monta sur un roseau flottant et descendit le cours du fleuve Bleu jusqu'à son embouchure. Arrivé en face de Kiun-chan, alors une haute falaise en pleine mer, et isolée des autres montagnes, il y aborda. N'y trouvant aucune habitation, il se réfugia dans la grotte habitée jadis par Yen-tchen-jen. Il n'avait pour compagnons que les animaux sauvages et les reptiles. Un jour il voit se dresser au-dessus de sa tête un énorme serpent aux yeux flamboyants, qui le fixe et semble écouter les prières. Le bonze l'asperge avec l'eau lustrale contenue dans une fiole, et se contente de lui dire, "Retire toi." Le serpent obéit.

Les chroniques supplémentaires (liv. XX, p. 16) racontent qu'un grand serpent venait écouter le récitatif chaque fois que Tche-tsong chantait ses prières en frappant sur le poisson de bois (*mou yu* 木魚). Un jour le bonze fut témoin d'une lutte acharnée entre le serpent et un monstre marin, qui se mesurait avec lui sur le rivage: tous deux se battirent jusqu'à mort. Tche-tsong prit leurs cadavres et les enfouit sur le versant N.E. de la montagne. Cette légende aura donné naissance au dicton populaire, "Kiun-chan recèle le tombeau d'un poisson et d'un serpent."

Vers cette même époque Wang Yang-té occupait un petit poste militaire à Lang-chan: le bonze lui parut plutôt un personnage étrange. Tche-tsong, éclairé d'une lumière préternaturelle, lui prédit qu'après dix années il deviendrait maréchal

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, pp. 11-12. Un autre chroniqueur raconte que Yen Hoan était passionné pour le vin. Un jour qu'il s'était endormi ivre mort, on vit des nuages s'assembler autour de lui. *Annales de Tong-tcheou*, liv. XXII, p. 16.

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de Lang-chan. Aussitôt après la prédiction vérifiée, Wang Yang-té batit une résidence pour le bonze sur le sommet de la montagne, qui dans la suite compta 16 pagodes; une communauté ne tarda pas à s'y constituer. Il manquait pourtant de l'eau potable, gros inconvénient pour cette nouvelle bonzerie perchée tout au haut de la montagne. Le bonze Tche-tsong frappa le rocher avec son bâton, et il en sortit une eau limpide et abondante, qui ne cessa plus de couler.

Un jour devant la salle des conférences, il aperçut un objet ressemblant à une pousse de bambou; il se baissa et toucha cette pointe avec le bout de son bâton; aussitôt tout le ciel se couvrit de nuages, et ses disciples s'écrièrent "C'est le dragon!" Dans un clin d'œil la pluie commence à tomber par torrents.

Les notables le prièrent de venir s'installer dans la ville de Tong-tcheou; dans cet établissement ses disciples se sont toujours perpétués jusqu'à nos jours.*

7° Le bonze T'cheng-k'ien 淨 謙, prénom Mou-chan 牧 山. Son pays natal fut le Fou-kien. La pagode de Kiun-chan lui était confiée au temps de l'empereur Kang-hi, 1662-1723. Il écrivit aux notables et aux principaux habitants du pays, pour leur faire connaitre le dénûment où il se trouvait, manquant de vêtements et de vivres. Or voici que sur ces entrefaites s'éleva un violent typhon, qui fit rage pendant plusieurs jours; la barque chargée de le ravitailler dans son îlot ne put tenter la traversée, et le pauvre bonze mourut de faim. Les gens de la contrée en furent touchés de compassion.†

8° Ting Fou-song 丁 腹 松, prénom Mou-kong 木 公, nom honorifique T'ing-fou 挺 夫. Natif de Hai-men 海 門, après une inondation du Kiang il alla habiter Tong-tcheou. Sa famille était pauvre, mais, grâce à son intelligence remarquable, et par un travail opiniâtre, il put être admis á la licence en 1684, sous le règne de Kang-hi. En 1703, sous-préfet de Fou-fong 扶 風 (Chen-si), il passa son doctorat et fut reçu premier. Démissionnaire pour cause de maladie, le

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, p. 13.
† *Ibid.*, liv. X, p. 14.

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peuple l'obligea à rester à son poste; par une année de sécheresse il obtint la cessation du fléau, et on demanda à l'empereur l'autorisation de lui rendre un culte, en reconnaissance de ses bienfaits.

Il se retira dans la solitude de Kiun-chan; comme cette montagne se trouve à gauche des quatre autres, c'est-à-dire à l'Est,* il fut surnommé le Sage de la Montagne de Gauche. Beaucoup d'hommes remarquables allèrent le visiter dans son ermitage, où il vécut heureux jusqu'à l'âge de quatre-vingts ans.†

9° Tchang Tche-teou 張之斗, colonel de Lang-chan, dont nous donnerons la notice au chap. II, art. 1, passa ses dernières années sur la montagne de Kiun-chan. (Voir sa biographie, c. II, art. 1, *Les Hôtes de Passage.*)

Article VI.—*Le site de la Montagne de l'Armée et ses Pagodes.*

I. Le site.—

1° Le Rocher de Pou-touo 普陀, sorte de dôme qui surplombe le sentier en lacet tracé sur le flanc de la montagne. Sous cet abri rocheux on est à l'abri du vent et de la pluie.

2° La Trompe d'Eléphant; c'est ainsi qu'on a nommé un relief rocheux qui encercle le flanc N. E. de la falaise, sur une longueur de près de cent mètres, et qui par sa configuration fait penser à la trompe d'un éléphant.

3° La Pente de l'Essai du Sabre. Au dessus d'un tas de débris pierreux on voit une coupure de plusieurs centaines de pieds, pratiquée dans la paroi du rocher; c'est là dit la légende, que l'immortel Liu Tong-pin 呂洞賓 essaya son sabre sur la roche.

Liu Tong-pin est un des Huit Immortels. Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, vol. IX, p. 499.

4° Le Sommet des Bolides. A l'Ouest de la grotte de Yen-tchen-jen le héros taoiste, sur la partie S. E. de la hauteur,

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* Les cartes chinoises sont disposées à l'opposé des nôtres, le Sud est en haut et le Nord en bas. En Chine c'est la gauche qui est la place d'honneur, à l'Est.

† *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. IX. p. 19.

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on trouve un amas de pierres arrondies comme des œufs; elles proviennent, dit-on, d'une pluie de pierres qui seraient tombées du ciel pendant une nuit de la 9e lune, la 18e année de Choen-tche 順治, 1661.*

5° La pointe du Bec de Vautour, saillie du roc, sur le flanc droit de l'îlot, près de la grotte du Nuage Blanc. Cette excroissance ressemble au bec d'un oiseau de proie.

6° La grotte du Nuage Blanc. Au-dessus d'un éboulis de rochers, apparait une excavation à peu près carrée, et d'une quarantaine de pieds de côté; on lui a donné le nom de Grotte du Nuage Blanc parce que, matin et soir, des nuages blancs s'échappent de cette caverne.

7° Le caverne du Héros Taoïste (tchen-jen 眞人). Elle est sise à l'Ouest de la grotte du Nuage Blanc, et peut avoir aussi trente ou quarante pieds de côté. L'entrèe en est très basse, il faut se courber pour y pénétrer. Ce fut dans cette grotte que Yen-tchen-jen parvint à l'immortalité.

8° L'esplanade de la Cuisson de la Pilule. Près de la grotte précédente s'éleve une esplanade, haute d'une vingtaine de pieds; la surface supérieure est parfaitement plane. Sur cette roche Yen-tchen-jen installa son fourneau et procéda aux expériences d'alchimie que lui permirent de composer la pilule vivifiante, conférant l'immortalité.†

9° La source du Nuage Blanc. Nous avons vu que le bonze Tche-tsong 智宗, souvent nommé Fa-kong 法空, fit jaillir cette source en frappant le rocher avec son bâton. Elle surgit à mi-côte, sur le versant Nord. L'eau qui en sourd est douce et limpide; elle passe pour n'avoir point d'égale en qualité dans les pays au Nord du Kiang.

10° La pierre Pour Goûter l'Eau de la Source. On dirait une sorte de table de pierre, haute de cinq pieds, formant un plan carré d'environ trois pieds et demi de côté; elle est située tout près de la fontaine du Nuage Blanc.

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* C'est précisément cette même année que le président du Ministère de la Guerre, Sou 蘇, fit brûler en partie les pagodes de la montagne de Kiun-chan. Cette pluie de bolides semble fort avoir été inventée, pour persuader le peuple que c'était une punition du ciel.

† *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. II, p. 4-12.

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Les immortels de la seizième grotte des cieux* viennent goûter l'eau de la source sur cette plate-forme de pierre. On y a gravé les trois caractères, Ping-tsiuen-che 品泉石, Pierre pour Goute: l'eau de la Source.

11° Tcha-tsao-che 茶竈石, la Pierre du Fourneau pour l'infusion du Thé. Comme l'eau de la précédente source est d'une qualité exquise, les immortels ont eu l'idée d'installer un fourneau sur les bords de la fontaine, pour infuser leurs feuilles de thé.

La pierre sus-dite, longue d'une trentaine de pieds et large de vingt, offrait toutes les conditions voulues, aussi fut-elle choisie pour l'installation.

C'est de ce belvédère situé à mi-côte sur le flanc oriental de la haute falaise, que les immortels admiraient les levers de soleil, "quand le glorieux flambeau du jour montait dans son orient, investissant tout l'horizon de ses rayons étincelants." Sur ce thème les poésies abondent.

12° La fontaine de Lait. De cette source cachée sous la pierre, découle une eau doucereuse et blanchâtre comme si on y avait mêlé des gouttes de lait.

13° L'Abreuvoir des Chevaux. Petite douve au bas de la montagne, elle servait d'abreuvoir aux chevaux de bataille des dragons, aux temps où ils avaient établi leur camp sur cette montagne.

14° La pierre de la Langue de Loup, excroissance du rocher au front N.E. On lui a encore donné les noms de Pierre de la Trompe d'Eléphant, et Pierre de la Cosse de Poivre. La cosse du poivrier a un peu la forme de cette pierre.

15° La roche de la Dent du Nuage, au-dessous du Nid de la Pluie et des Nuages. C'est à faux qu'on a pris l'habitude de la nommer La Dent du Loup.

16° Les Pierres Foudroyées, amas confus de pierres couleur jaune rougeâtre, qui paraissent avoir été frappées par le feu du ciel.

17° L'Arête du Partage des Eaux. D'une fissure de la roche, vers le socle de la montagne, dans la partie Sud,

* *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, partie III, Taoïsme.

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s'échappe un filet d'eau, qui alimente un petit ruisseau. Ce faible courant d'eau en se heurtant à une grosse roche, se partage en deux branches, l'une coule vers le S.E., ses eaux sont douces; l'autre tourne au N.O., son eau est salée.

On a nommé Arête du Partage des Eaux cette roche taillée en forme d'animal; on l'a aussi appelée, la Pierre du Tigre Couché.

18° Le chenal de la Culotte. On appelait ainsi l'ancien canal qui aboutissait sur les bords du Kiang, au temps où les alluvions avaient déjà mis une bonne distance entre la falaise et le fleuve. Ce chenal après s'être enfoncé dans la côte à une distance de quelques *li*, se bifurquait en deux branches, dont l'une tournait vers l'Ouest et l'autre vers l'Est. On l'avait plaisamment surnommé Le Chenal de la Culotte.

19° Le Nouveau Chenal. Ce canal aboutissait à un gros bourg à l'Est de Kiun-chan. Naguère une partie de cette population se composait d'émigrés de l'île de Tsong-ming 崇明, gens violents et difficiles à gouverner. Ce bourg était un repaire de pirates.*

II. Les Pagodes.—

Les temples élevés sur la montagne de l'Armée étaient beaucoup plus nombreux que ceux bâtis sur les autres petites montagnes au N.O.

D'abord elle est plus élevée, d'après les mesures données récemment, sa hauteur au-dessus du niveau de la mer est de 118 mètres, et son pourtour équivaut à 2,330 mètres.

Tout le monde sait que les Chinois aiment à percher leurs pagodes sur les plus hauts sommets: Satan aime les hauts lieux. Une raison plus péremptoire, c'est que pendant assez longtemps Kiun-chan s'est posée comme l'émule de sa voisine Lang-chan. Le bonze Fa-kong, grâce à la générosité du maréchal Wang Yang-té, donna une vigoureuse impulsion à la succursale de Pou-touo, et on pourrait même se demander s'il n'eût point réussi à éclipser Lang-chan, au cas où le ministre Sou Na-hai 蘇納海 n'eût ruiné de si beaux débuts.

En effet, quand les établissements furent brûlés en 1661, seize pagodes superposées avaient été construites sur le flanc

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. III, pp. 6-16.

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de la montagne, au-dessous de la grotte nommée le Nid de la Pluie et des Nuages, et son sommet était couronné par le beau temple Pou-touo-pie-yuen 普陀別院. *

Outre ces deux raisons, il faut se rappeler que Kiun-chan était resté un îlot, qui rappelait mieux les origines du pélerinage à Koan-yng 觀音, dans sa Seconde Ile de Pou-touo, succursale du grand pélerinage de Pou-touo-chan, aux iles Tcheou-chan 舟山.

Après le désastre de 1661, Kiun-chan ne reprit plus son ancienne vogue, et sa rivale la Montagne du Loup monta de triomphe en triomphe jusqu'au point où nous la trouvons de nos jours.

1° Temple du Second Pou-touo, c'est-à-dire une succursale du grand pelerinage à Koan-yng dans l'île de Pou-touo. Temple bâti par Wang Yang-té et le bonze Fa-kong en 1628. C'était un ex-voto, en reconnaissance de la prédiction que lebonze lui avait faite 12 ans auparavant. Deux ans donc après son élevation au maréchalat de Lang-chan, il tint à payer généreusement sa dette de gratitude.

2° Ta-che-tien 大士殿, c'est-à-dire le temple de Koan-yng ta-che, élevé en 1683 sur les ruines des précédents, par le notable Pao Tse-ming 保嗣敏.

En 1661, Sou Na-hai, président du Ministère de la Guerre, fut chargé de l'inspection des côtes. Pour éloigner les pirates, il résolut de faire démolir toutes les pagodes des îles côtières. A cette époque la Montagne de l'Armée était encore une île; elle partagea le sort de toutes les autres et ses pagodes furent en partie brûlées et ruinées. Le temple bâti par Pao Tse-ming était donc une restauration de l'ancienne pagode élevée par Wang Yang-t'e.

3° Si T'cheng-ngan 西淨菴, temple occidental dédié au bonze T'cheng-kien 淨謙. (Voir sa notice, Art. V.)

4° La salle des Louo-han 羅漢. Les Louo-han sont des bonzes remarquables qui sont parvenus à la parfaite connaissance de la doctrine, les arhans indiens. (Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VII, p. 214). Ce temple fut élevé plus tard sur les ruines de la pagode dédiée à T'cheng-Kien.

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. V. pp. 14-15.

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5° La vieille pagode de Wang-ling-koan, bâti sur la pente orientale, et brûlée dans l'incendie de 1661. Wang-ling-koan est une divinité taoïste. Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. IX, p. 594.

6° La pagode de la Miséricorde; consacrée à Koan-yng et brûlée par Sou Na-hai.

7° Se-hien-se, 四賢祠, le temple des Quatre Sages. Nous avons donné le nom et la biographie de ces hommes, Art. V.

Ruinée bien avant le cataclysme de 1661, elle fut reconstruite sur la Montagne du Loup dès 1535, par un mandarin militaire de Tong-tcheou. Puis quand le docteur Ting Fou-song 丁腹松 se fut retiré dans le solitude de Kiun-chan, il fit relever cet ancien temple sur l'emplacement qu'il occupait anciennement sur cette même montagne. Cette restauration eut lieu en 1722, la dernière du règne de Kang-hi.

8° Ting-kong-se 丁公祠, temple dédié au docteur Ting Fou-song 丁腹松, bienfaiteur de la bonzerie de Kiun-chan, où il se retira pour y mourir dans la solitude.

9° La Grotte pagode. Ce temple était aménagé dans le Nid de la Pluie et des Nuages, caverne creusée sur le flanc droit du mont.

10° Pagode de l'Herbe Brillante. Allusion à la poignée d'herbe que Çakyamouni reçut de la main d'Indra, pour l'étendre sur son siège au pied de l'arbre d'illumination.

11° Temple de Koan-yng Passant la Mer. Ce temple se trouvait jadis entre le stupa élevé sur le tombeau du bonze Fa-Kong, et le temple de la Miséricorde; il fut détruit en même temps que ces deux monuments en 1661.

12° Temple d'Amitha. On l'appelait aussi le temple de la Tour, parce qu'il était peu distant de la Tour des Six Concordes.

13° Le temple de l'Illumination, pagode construite près d'une roche où un bonze fut illuminé, et non loin du retranchement élevé par le général Tchang Tche-teou. Colonel de Lang-chan, à la fin des Ming, et battu par les Mandchoux, il se sauva à Kiun-chan, où il fit cette levée en pierres sèches, pour occuper ses loisirs.

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14° La pagode de l'Apparition du Soleil; tournée vers l'orient, près de la Fontaine de Lait. C'est Phœbus à son petit lever, entr'ouvrant les rideaux de l'aurore.

15° Ling-sing-ngan 靈新菴; nouvelle pagode de Ling-tai-chan-che 靈臺禪師, bonze de Kiun-chan, honoré comme un saint personnage.

16° Hoan-tchou-ngan 幻著菴; Temple de l'Apparition de Yen-tchen-jen. Il faut se rappeler que le nom personnel de ce héros taoïste était Hoan.

17° Le temple de la Coupe Flottante. Avant l'illumination un prodige s'opère, le bol ou la coupe du futur bouddha flotte sur l'eau sans s'enfoncer.

18° La pagode d'Où l'on Contemple l'Eau. On appelait ainsi la Taverne du Lion, à l'angle N. O., d'où on dominait le cours du fleuve Bleu.

C'est du haut de ce rocher que les poètes Hou Kong-suen 胡公孫 et Ling Tao-mou 凌道木 ont écrit leurs beaux vers, en contemplant le soleil descendant de nuage en nuage, et de ses derniers feux empourprant l'horizon.

19° La pagode de la Lune se Mirant dans l'Eau.

20° La pagode de Ti-tsang-wang 地藏王. Ce pavillon à étage était tout au sommet de la montagne, derrière la pagode Succursale de Pou-touo; il eut le même sort que ce temple et fut brûlé le même jour en 1661.

21° L'observatoire du Kiang, pavillon à étage du haut duquel la vue s'étendait sur le fleuve et sur la mer; il était perché sur la plus haute esplanade au S.E. L'incendie de 1661 en fit un monceau de ruines.*

Depuis l'an 1916 un autre observatoire a remplacé celui des bonzes: la poésie cède le pas à la science. Mr. Tchang Kien, l'académicien de Tong-tcheou, a fait construire une tour d'observatoire et un établissement attenant, puis a pris à son service un ancien employé de l'observatoire de *Z*i-ka-wei, pour commencer une série d'observations sur la Montagne de l'Armée.

On parle aussi d'y établir une station de télégraphie sans fil. La gloire sourit de nouveau à la spoliée de 1661.

Annales des cinq Montagnes, liv. V et VI, *passim*.

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CHAPITRE II.

La Montagne du Loup et son pélerinage.

(Du VII au XVIII siècle).

Article I.—*Les célébrités de la Montagne.*

I. Les cinq préfets modèles.—

1° Hia Pang-mo 夏邦謨, prénom Choen yu 舜俞, docteur, eut pour lieu d'origine le province du Se-tchoan 四川; il fut nommé préfet de Tong-tcheou 通州, en 1517. Son éloge fut gravé sur une stèle en pierre érigée à Lang-chan.

2° Tong Han-jou 董漢儒, prénom Tao-fou 道夫, docteur, de Ho-nan, et préfet de Tong-tcheou en 1532. Des vers gravés sur une pierre élevée à sa louange sur la montagne de Lang-chan rappellent sa mémoire.

3° Ling Yun-tcheng 林雲程, prénom Teng-k'ing 登卿, natif du Fou-kien, docteur, fut choisi pour préfet de Tong-tcheou en 1575. Ce mandarin fut un des grands restaurateurs des pagodes de Lang-chan.

4° Tcheou Tchang-yng 周長應, prénom Pé-eul 百二, né au Se-tchoan, reçu au doctorat sous le règne de Wan-li 萬曆, fut nommé à la préfecture de Tong-tcheou en 1620.

Mandarin réputé intègre, grand amateur de beaux paysages, poéte à ses heures, il aimait à visiter la montagne du Loup et travailla à la composition des *Annales de Lang-chan*.*

5° T'chen Tsou-hiun 陳祖訓, prénom Tchao-hoa 昭華, fut originaire de Hai-ning au Tche-kiang. Après son admission à la licence il fut nommé préfet de Tong-tcheou en 1625. Il se fit une grande réputation de probité et d'intégrité, et gouverna son district avec beaucoup de sagesse. Le fléau des sauterelles, qui sous son administration ravagèrent les sous-prefectures voisines, ne s'abattit point sur le territoire de Tong-tcheou; on regarda cette préservation comme une recompense de ses vertus.

A ses moments libres son meilleur passe-temps était une excursion à Lang-chan. C'était un amateur de poésie et de

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, p. 1-3.

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beaux points de vue; il composa plusieurs pièces de vers sur le paysage des cinq montagnes.

II. Les six maréchaux.—

Autrefois, les cinq montagnes de Tong-tcheou formaient comme une forteresse avancée, elles étaient les vraies portes de la haute mer, et devenaient le point de mire des pirates.

Les Japonais opérèrent maintes fois des descentes sur ces îlots, qui assuraient la liberté de la passe. Longtemps Lang-chan fut consideré comme la clef du fleuve Bleu,—c'était le Ou-song des temps anciens. Aussi le gouvernement chinois, persuadé de son importance, en avait confié la défense à un maréchal de l'empire.* Les six noms qui suivent rappellent ceux qui se distinguèrent tout specialement dans cette charge.

1° T'an King-tcheng 譚敬承, Hounanais, né à Tchang-cha 長沙, reçut le grade de docteur militaire en 1571, et fut nommé maréchal de Lang-chan en 1586.

2° Wang Ming-ho 王鳴鶴, prénom Yu-k'ing 羽卿, naquit à Hai-tcheou 海州 au Kiang-sou. Il fut reçu au doctorat militaire sous Wan-li en 1586, puis nommé maréchal de Lang-chan en 1596.

3° Yang Yng-tchoen 楊應春, de Nanking, docteur militaire en 1589, devint commandant général des troupes de Lang-chan en 1619. Lettré et poète, type du maréchal littérateur.

4° Tchang King-fang 張景房, né à Tchang-chou 常熟, au Kiang-sou. Il passa son doctorat avec succès en 1589, fut promu au poste de Lang-chan, et succéda à Yang Yng-tchoen.

5° Kiang Tche-tsing 江之清, du Yun-nan, docteur militaire de la promotion 1595 occupa le poste de maréchal de Lang-chan, vers 1625, à la fin de la période Tien-ki.

6° Wang Yang-té 王楊德, prénom Sin-i 心抑, de Hoei-ki 會稽; en 1610 il parvint au doctorat militaire et en 1626 fut nommé maréchal des armées de Lang-chan et des alentours.

* De nos jours encore, l'officier supérieur qui commande aux troupes de Tong-tcheou garde le titre officiel de "Commandeur de la montagne du Loup blanc."

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Ces derniers quatre officiers paraissent s'être succédé.*

III Les hôtes de passage.—

A. Sous les Tang 唐.

1° Li King-yé 李敬業, originaire de Tsao-tcheou 曹州 au Chan-tong 山東. Son nom de famille n'était point Li 李, mais Siu 徐; son père Siu Tsi-fou 徐勣輔 s'était distingué dans les armées de Tang Kao-tsou 唐高祖, pendant les guerres qui eurent lieu au changement de dynastie. Kao tsou 高祖, reconnaissant de ses loyaux services, lui conféra le titre de Duc, et changea son nom de famille Siu en celui de Li. Pour ce motif on rencontre ca et là dans les auteurs tantôt Li King-yé 李敬業 tantôt Siu King-yé 徐敬業.

Li King-yé de concert avec Lo Ping-wang 駱賓王 et plusieurs autres, se mit à la tête des loyalistes, contre l'usurpatrice Ou-heou 武后, 684-705, et tenta s'emparer de Yang-tcheou 揚州. L'entreprise échoua, son armée fut dispersée, son fils Li-kiong 李綱, lui et tous ses proches, prirent la fuite avec Lo Ping-wang. Les fugitives se sauvèrent à Pe-choei-tang, (Liu-se 呂四), gros bourg actuel sur la digue de Fan-kong-ti à l'Est du district de Tong-tcheou. Li King-yé échappa à la mort, il fut même nommé mandarin de Joen-tcheou 潤州, après le rétablissement de l'empereur Tchong-tsong 中宗, mais il périt sous les coups de Li Hiao-i 李孝逸.

Quelques auteurs prétendent que ce fut lui-même qui rendit les derniers devoirs à Lo Ping-wang, et qu'il l'ensevelit à Tong-tcheou; plus generalement on croit que ce fut son fils Li Kiong. †

2° Li Kiong 李綱, prénom Chang-ngan 尙莞, fils de Li King-ye. Au moment de la déroute de Yang-tcheou il suivit Lo Ping-wang à Liu-se 呂四, qui alors s'appelait Pe-choei-tang 白水儁 et formait la pointe extrême à l'Est de la presqu'île haimenoise.

Après la mort de Lo Ping-wang, Li Kiong, son fidèle compagnon d'infortune, lui procura une sépulture honorable,

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* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, p. 3-5.

† Kang-kien-i-tche-lou 綱鑑易知錄, liv. 46, p. 3. *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. VII, p. 16-18, etc.; liv. X, p. 7, 8.

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s'occupa des habits funèbres, puis écrivit sur sa pierre tombale: "Tang Lo Ping-wang tche mou 唐駱賓王之墓 tombe de Lo Ping-wang, de la dynastie des Tang.

Li Kiong eut un fils connu dans les lettres sous le nom de Li Siué-ya 李崖; toute le famille se fixa sur le territoire de Hai-men. *

3° Lo Ping-wang 駱賓王, naquit à I-ou 義烏, au Tche-kiang. Des l'âge de 7 ans il pouvait déjà composer des pièces de vers; il devint un des plus célèbres lettrés de son temps, et exerça la charge de censeur impérial.

Dans une proclamation restée fameuse il dénonça à la vindicte publique l'usurpatrice Ou-heou. Il se joignit à Li King-yè, juge criminel de Mei-tcheou; tous deux se mirent à la tête des loyalistes et vinrent mettre le siège devant la ville de Yang-tcheou. L'expédition fut malheureuse, leurs troupes se débandèrent, ce fut un sauve-qui-peut. Lo Ping-wang, Li King-yé et son fils Li Kiong, se sauvèrent à Liu-se. Lo Ping-wang erra quelque temps sur la mer, aux approches des côtes, puis finalement mourut pendant une traversée vers Tong-tcheou. Nous avons vu comment Li Kiong lui donna des habits funèbres et prit soin de sa sépulture.

La tradition s'était conservée que le tombeau de cette homme célèbre devait se trouver à l'Est de Tong-tcheou. En 1514 un paysan nommé Tsao 曹, en creusant la terre dans les campagnes de Hoang-gni-keou 黃泥口, à l'Est de Tong-tcheou, découvrit ce vieux tombeau, et la pierre tombale avec l'inscription. Le chapeau et les habits du mort étaient parfaitement conservés.† Le paysan s'empressa de recouvrir de terre le tombeau qu'il venait de trouver, puis emporta chez lui la pierre tombale et la brisa de peur de susciter de grosses difficultés.‡

Tchong-tsong, après son rétablissement sur le trône en 705, fit recueiller les œuvres littéraires de Lo Ping-wang, les fit imprimer à Yang-tcheou et relier soigneusement, pour

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. VII, pp. 17, 18; liv. X, p. 7.

† Ce détail serait plutôt de nature à éveiller de grave soupçons sur la véracité du récit, sinon pour le fond, de moins dans les circonstances.

‡ La violation d'une sépulture entraine souvent la peine de mort.

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assurer leur conservation jusqu'aux siècles les plus reculés. Bien que le succès n'eut pas couronné ses efforts, Lo Ping-wang fut un patriote et un loyaliste, et sa mémoire mérite d'être transmise à la postérité.*

Le tombeau de Lo Ping-wang fut de nouveau restauré en 1748, la 13e année de Kien-long, par le lettré Lieou Ming-fang 劉名芳. Après des recherches à Hoang-gni-keou, il découvrit une pierre tombale enfouie sous terre dans un marécage; l'extrémité supérieure apparaissait seule. Il fit creuser la terre, et on retira une pierre brisée, sur laquelle on avait gravé des caractères. Deux seuls restaient lisibles, Tang Lo 唐駱 . . . c'est-à-dire, Lo, (de la dynastie de) Tang . . . la partie inférieure du caractère du Lo 駱 était seulement un peu effacée. Lieou Ming-fang fit connaitre sa découverte au préfet de Tong-tcheou, nommé Tong 董; le transfert de la tombe fut décidé. Cette même année on la transporta à Lang-chan, à l'Ouest du tombeau du maréchal Kin 金. Les frais furent couverts par une souscription.† De nombreuses compositions littéraires sur ce thème sont rassemblées aux passages ci-dessous indiqués dans les *Annales des cinq Montagnes.*

Le texte de son épitaphe se trouve dans le livre XII, p. 23. Ce n'est qu'un confirmatur de ce que nous venons de raconter. L'épitaphe actuelle fut écrite l'an 1748, par Wang Mong-ting 王孟亭, lettré de Pao-yn 寶應 au Kiang-sou, quand le tombeau fut transporté à Lang-chan.

B. Sous les Song 宋.

Le maréchal Kin 金. Il vint au monde à Ki-choei 吉永, au Kiang-si; son nom personnel était Yng 應. Sur la fin des Song il fut chargé de couvrir l'accès occidental de Kiang-sou, menacé par les troupes victorieuses de Koublai Khan, 1260-94. Battu et refoulé par les armées envahissantes, il se réfugia à Tong-tcheou avec son compagnon et ami Wen Tien-siang 文天祥. Dix jours après se declara la maladie qui le conduisit au tombeau en 1264, le 11me de la III lune intercalaire. Wang Tien-siang l'inhuma à l'Ouest de Tong-

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. VII, pp. 17, 18; liv. X, pp. 7, 8; *Kang-kien-i-tche-lou*, liv. 46, p. 3.

† *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. VII, pp. 16-25.

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tcheou et fit graver sur pierre une épitaphe en vers, qu'il composa à sa mémoire.*

La 16e année de Choen-tche, 1662, Wang Yeou-ting 王猷定 de Nan-tchang-fu au Kiang-si, trouva son tombeau en piteux état, dans un bas-fond; il demanda au préfet Pong Che-cheng 彭士望 de transférer ses restes dans un lieu plus convenable, et on le fit inhumer à Lang-chan, au bas de la côte de l'Est, et à l'Ouest de la grande pagode de Koan-ti, (dieu de la guerre).

La 12e année de Kien-long, 1747, Lieou Ming-fang 劉名芳 et son ami Ting Yeou-yu 丁有煜 firent restaurer le monument, le tombeau fut entouré d'un mur de pierre, une table de pierre fut placée sur la tombe, et une stèle en pierre remplaça celle où on avait gravé les vers de Wen Tien-siang. Lieou Ming-fang, après avoir lavé cette vieille pierre cassée en morceaux, avait pu encore déchiffrer quelques restes de l'épitaphe.†

C. Sous les Ming 明

1° Tou Long 屠隆, prénom Wei-tcheng 緯眞, nom honorifique Tche-choei 赤水, littérateur remarquable, gradué de la promotion 1577 sous Wan-li. Son pays natal fut le Tché-kiang.

Ce lettré était l'ami intime des deux ministres de la guerre, Kou 顧, et T'chen 陳; toujours il se montra affectionné au bouddhisme. Son plus grand plaisir était de venir, simplement vêtu, se promener sur la montagne de Lang-chan, s'enquérir des souvenirs du passé et composer des poésies.

2° Tchang Tche-teou 張之斗, prénoms Han-tcha 漢槎 et Han-tchong 漢冲, nom honorifique Hi-yuen 希垣. Né à Nan-king, suivant les uns, ou du pays de Wei-nan 渭南, d'après d'autres auteurs. De cette confusion vient probablement le diversité de ses noms et prénoms. Il reçu le grade de docteur militaire sous Wan-li, 1595, et occupa le poste de

* Tong-tcheou étant alors en pleine anarchie, Wen Tien-siang enfonça 7 petites pointes dans le cercueil et cloua une planchette par-dessus, afin de pouvoir le reconnaître quand la paix serait revenue. Ces détails sont consignés dans l'épitaphe qu'il composa. Cf. *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. XI, p. 3.

† *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. VII, pp. 13-16; liv. X, p. 8.

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colonel à Lang-chan et général au Tché-kiang pendant les dernières luttes des Ming contre les Mandchoux. Quand la victoire eut définitivement désérté ses drapeaux il fit une prostration vers le Nord, en déplorant le sort de sa patrie, puis, renonçant à toute affaire de ce monde, il se retira sur l'îlot de Kiun-chan. Pour occuper les loisirs de sa retraite, il éleva une esplanade en pierres sèches sur le flanc de la montagne. Sur cette plate-forme préférée il demeurait des journées entiéres occupé à siffler. Presque sa seule nourriture consistait dans une copieuse et quotidienne libation de trois litres de vin. Quand la faim se faisait sentir, il cueillait au gré de ses caprices quelques herbes sauvages pour les manger. Les gens du pays ont surnommé cette esplanade La Plate-forme du duc Tchang. *

3° Wang Yeou-ting 王猷定, prénom Yu-i 于一, nom honorifique Tcheng-che 耕石. Lorsque les Mandchoux eurent envahi le Kiang-si il dut s'enfuir de Nan-chang, sa ville natale; ce n'est qu'après avoir traversé mille dangers qu'il atteignit la montagne du Loup. Là il se livra à ses études favorites sur les antiquités, il recueillit avec soin tous les vestiges du passé, et se lia d'amitié avec Fan Kouo-lou 范國祿, notable de Tong-cheou. Ce fut lui qui découvrit les ruines du tombeau du maréchal Kin Yng 金應, et obtint du préfet Pong Che-cheng l'autorisation de le transférer au pied de la montagne de Lang-chan. Lui-même voulut composer l'épitaphe en vers, qui fut gravée sur sa pierre tombale en 1622.†

IV. Le héros taoïste et les saints bouddhistes.—

A. Le héros taoiste Yu 虞.

Yu Tchen-jen 虞眞人, solitaire de la montagne du Loup, était du pays de Hoei-ki 會稽; il vivait à l'époque du royaume du Ou 吳 (Hoai-nan). Pourvu de la mystérieuse recette de Tong-hoa-tchen-jen 東華眞人,‡ il se nourrit des

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, p. 9.

† *Ibid.*, liv. X, p. 10.

‡ Tong-hoa tchen-jen, ou Tong-hoa ti-kiun 東華帝君 est le titre posthume du dieu des immortels, Tong wang kong 東王公. Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tome IX, p. 488

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effluves du soleil et de la lune,* acquit la légèreté et la subtilité des immortels, puis, quand l'enfançon fut parvenu à sa maturité, une bande de grues se réunit dans la nue et un jeune homme † lui fit signe en disant "Tong-hao ti-kiun vous appelle, venez." Aussitôt Yu Tchen-jen monta une grue, s'éleva dans les nuées du ciel, en faisant de la main un geste d'adieu aux mortels.‡

B. Les Saints bouddhistes.

1° Le bonze Tche-hoan 智幻 vécut sous les Song; il naquit à Ling-i 臨沂 au Chan-tong; son nom de famille était Tien 田. Il est regardé comme le fondateur de Lang-chan.§ Il faut bien se garder de le confondre avec le génie taoïste Yen tch'en-jen 燕眞人, ou Yen Hoan 燕幻. D'après la méthode chinoise qui consiste à prendre le second caractère du nom pour designer un personnage, il s'en suit que tous deux sont appelés Hoan.

Le bonze Tche-Hoan était un docteur qui fut converti au bouddhisme par la lecture du Leng-yen-king 楞嚴經. Il comprit alors l'instabilité des honneurs humains, la vanité des plaisirs de ce monde, et la douceur du "farniente" abstractif du bouddhisme. Il se donna à l'étude de la doctrine san-mo-ti-fa 三摩地法.

Sous le règne de Song T'ai-tsong, période Tai-ping-hing kouo 太平興國 les bonzes dans une réunion élurent Tche-Hoan supérieur de la bonzerie de Lang-chan, appelée alors Koang-kiao chan-yuen 廣敎禪院, Monastère bouddhique de la propagation religieuse. Ce fut lui qui construisit la tour du bonze Ta-cheng;‖ il se fit même passer pour un avatar de ce thaumaturge indien. "Jadis", disait-il avec emphase, "je refusai d'habiter la capitale de Tchang-ngan 長安, et je m'en

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* C'est-à-dire du Yang et du Yn (principe actif et principe passif), qui combinés avec le Ki, matière, engendrent l'enfançon, d'après la théorie taoïste.

† Pe-ho-tong-tse 白鶴童子, fils de la tisserande. Cf *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tome IXX, p. 653.

‡ *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, p. 11.

§ Cette question sera traitée dans les articles suivants.

‖ C'est la tour actuellement existante, élevée en l'honneur de Tacheng, dont nous allons donner la notice historique (Art. 4).

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allai vers Se-tcheou 泗州, où je bâtis un temple;* maintenant, j'ai l'intention de m'établir dans l'îlot de Lang-chan, au-dessus de la mer, pour convertir les pays de l'Est." Un écrit trouvé sur lui acheva de convaincre qu'il était vraiment une réincarnation de ce bonze.†

Rien de plus frequent que ces ridicules prétentions inventées par les bonzes, pour se poser en hommes extraordinaires aux yeux des populations ignorantes et crédules. C'est un moyen facile et peu dispendieux, de se créer un titre de noblesse surhumaine. Cette branche d'industrie n'a pas, me semble-t-il, attiré toute l'attention qu'elle mérite, et nous verrons quel merveilleux parti les bonzes ont su en tirer, pour l'établissement de leurs grands pélerinages, à Kieou-hoa-chan 九華山, dans le province de Ngan-hoei et à Lang-chan au Kiang-sou.

2° Louo-ngan Hoei-wen-chan-che 羅菴慧温禪師. Hoei-wen avait pour nom de famille Tcheng 鄭; il naquit à Fou-tcheou 福州. Après avoir erré de pagode en pagode, il se mit sous la conduite du bonze Tchou-ngan 竹菴, à Tong-ling 東林. Quand Tchou-ngan cessa d'administrer cette pagode, il se fit disciple de Ou-nan 悟南, supérieur d'une autre grande pagode. Tous les bonzes qui le connurent declarèrent à l'unanimité que cet homme avait une science peu commune pour tout ce qui concerne les questions de doctrine.

Sous le regne de Tong Sou-tsong 唐肅宗, pendant l'époque de regne K'ien-yuen, 758-60, Hoei-wen 慧温 rentra au Fou-kien, où il retrouva son ancien maître Tchou-ngan 竹菴. Plus tard il devint supérieur de la pagode de Lang-chan, où il mourut. Son stupa avait été construit au-dessous de l'emplacement du "Pavillon perché sur nuages." Depuis longtemps ces souvenirs s'était effacés dans la mémoire de ses successeurs, quand un beau jour le bonze Hong-tchou 弘宙, en se promenant sur la montagne, découvrit la pointe d'un stupa qui sortait un peu du sol. C'était sous le règne de Choen-tche, 1644-61. On fit des fouilles et on

* Allusion aux faits et gestes du bonze Ta-cheng, qui quitta la capitale et alla batir sa pagode de Ling-hoai 臨淮 au Se-tcheou.

† *Annales de cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, p. p. 11—12.

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découvrit le stupa de Louo-ngan Hoei-wen. Le monument fut restauré; c'est ainsi que la mémoire de ce fondateur de Lang-chan fut ravivée. D'après ces données, (*Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, p. 12) Louo-ngan est de beaucoup le plus ancien supérieur de Lang-chan. De là il faut conclure que le titre de "premier fondateur" donné à Tche-hoan est un "titre de convention," insoutenable au point de vue historique.

3° Le bonze Yu-hoan 玉環.

Le bonze aux "Pendants de jade," Yu-hoan, fut ainsi surnommé parce qu'il portait de longs pendants d'oreille en jade. Il venait de Si-yu 西域 de l'Inde (Turkestan); ce qu'on raconte de lui nous montre qu'il était un des tenants du Yogisme, ou de l'école des magiciens du Tantrisme. Ses pendants d'oreille excitaient la plus vive curiosité; on n'y voyait aucune trace de fissure ou de soudure, cependant il pouvait les enlever et les remettre à volonté; il pouvait aussi les abaisser et les remonter, on entendait alors comme le roulis d'une poulie.

Le bonze pétrissait des pains avec de la farine, puis les collait tout autour de son ventre pour les faire cuire, au bout d'un certain temps il les retirait tout croustillants; les malades qui en mangeaient recouvraient la santé.

Yu-hoan disait être arrivé en Chine sous Ming Ying-tsong 明英宗, 1457-62, (période Tien-choen 天順) apportant un bagage considérable. Ce dire du bonze était un mensonge manifeste, une industrie pour se poser en immortel, car sous le règne de Kang-hi il habitait la pagode de Louo-han 羅漢 sur la montagne de Kiun-chan, et le peuple l'appelait souvent le bonze Louo-han. * Un jour pendant un entretien avec les lettrés Fan Kouo-lou † et Kong Hin-chan 康昕善, il mourut subitement. Fan Kouo-lou composa son éloge funèbre en vers;

* C'est-à-dire bonze d'une doctrine consommée, ou bonze thaumaturge.

† Fan Kouo-lou 范國祿, prénom Jou-cheou 汝受, nom honorifique Che-chan 十山, célèbre lettré du pays, amateur de beaux paysages et retiré dans la solitude à Lang-chan. Kang Hin-chan était un notable de la region.

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Kang Hin-chan lui fit don d'une paire de souliers: on déposa le tout dans son cerceuil.

Dans les jours qui suivirent, un voyageur revenant du Nord trouva les pendants d'oreille et l'éventail du bonze, posés au beau milieu du sentier à l'Est de Lang-chan; ces reliques furent aussi enfermées respectueusement dans sa tombe.*

[*La suite dans le numéro prochain.*]

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, X, p. 14

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STUDIES IN CHINESE PSYCHOLOGY

BY

HERBERT CHATLEY. D.SC. (LOND.)

II. FATE AND FORTUNE.

THE real object of all knowledge is prophecy. Even the exhilaration which arises from success in the pursuit of "pure" science is due to the subconscious sense of the possibilities of foreknowledge and practical utility which have been obtained. One may even go further and say that the evolution of mentality is only valuable in so far as it produces practical results, although by a paradox it attains such results best when the attention is diverted from utilitarian ends. In China, as elsewhere before the days of strictly experimental science, the attainment of foreknowledge was deemed to be more speedily possible by various apparently direct methods than by the tedious process of trial and error. These methods may be summarised under three classes:—

(*a*) The development of certain latent faculties of seerdom in man. (Clairvoyance, actual or symbolic).

(*b*) Deduction from certain reputed simple relations of natural phenomena to human interests. (Astrology and systematic divination).

(*b*) Perception of the operation of certain external quasi-human agencies upon man. (Spiritistic divination).

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It is characteristic of the ritualistic tendencies of the Chinese mind that emphasis should have been laid on class (*b*), but both the others figure largely in actual practice and classical records. One of the factors which may have led to this preference was the doctrine of fatalism which numbers many adherents in Asia. Chinese philosophy speaks much of "Heaven's Decree" (*T'ien Ming*, 天命) especially in relation to political matters, but qualifies its acceptance of a pure determinism by a belief in the Decree of Heaven being expressed in some manner by the popular will (cf. *Vox populi vox Dei*). This may either be interpreted to mean that the moral law is the expression of common interests or in a mystical manner that Heaven is incarnate in the people. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the problem of determinism versus freewill arose early in Chinese thought, the freewill aspect of the question being well illustrated by the extraordinary faculties which the "Superior man" can attain. As far as the writer can see the solution of the problem is comparatively simple. Events *are* determined by a chain of cause and effect, but most human affairs include in that chain one or more links which are essentially human, and we who feel and act cannot separate ourselves from the motives and mechanism which are those particular links, so that with respect to them we are conscious of freedom. To put it another way, the emotions we experience arise in connection with the mental and physical changes which precede a certain event and in so far as those changes affect that event we are free because we are parts of the cosmos just as much as the sun or the earth. It is perhaps permissible to think that Chinese have the same idea when in the *Ta Hsüeh* (大學) and *Chung Yung* (中庸), they suggest that the "Superior Man" has as much influence on the people as Heaven and Earth. Is it not a fact that our mental lives, especially in great societies, are more influenced by our fellow men and especially our superiors than by purely natural considerations? The social emotions of patriotism and sex are just as strong, nay, often stronger, than those of hunger.

This digression was not made without an object, since the writer wishes to show that the Chinese mind, cloudy

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though it may often be, has arrived at two apparently diametrically opposed results and yet reconciled them:—

(1) There is a Heavenly prototype of Earthly conditions, by the study of which the future may be foreseen.

(2) It is within the power of man to greatly affect the future.

The line of reconciliation is that of identifying the man of influence with the supernatural causes, and is logical so far as it goes.

The Chinese practice of divination at the present day has been described by the writer and others and it is sufficient to say that it usually consists of three steps:—

(i) The induction of a special psychical condition by prayer and attention.

(ii) Sortilege by means of a stereotyped set of instruments (stalks, dominoes, etc.)

(iii) Interpretation of the results of the sortilege by reference to a tabular oracle, sometimes the *I Ching* (易經) but in many instances special pronouncements prepared by Buddhist or Taoist priests.

In former times methods involving a tortoiseshell and stalks were used at the Court, but the books carefully specify that such methods are only to be used in so far as they agree with the opinions of the elders and the interests of the people, or as a casting vote in case of doubt. Exactly what the tortoiseshell method was is doubtful, but the general opinion inclines towards a practice of scorching the shell and studying the forms of the cracks. This is still done in Tibet with the shoulder blades of sheep and was formerly known in Europe as "scapulomancy."

The induction of the special state is often reduced to a mere piece of ritual, such as a ko-tow before an idol and the lighting of a bundle of incense sticks, but in its full form undoubtedly aims to bring the diviner into the "automatic" condition so that the sortilege will be under the control of the subliminal mentality. Thus presupposing the sortilege has been effected by supernormal causes, its interpretation is effected by means of written oracles which are themselves considered to have been produced in the inspired (*i.e.*, automatic)

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condition. In the commentaries on the *I Ching* it is stated that the "stalks" which are the instruments in the standard method of divination by that book represent, according to their grouping, Heaven, Earth and Man, and the counting out by fours, which is the principal part of the manipulation during the sortilege, corresponds to the four seasons. Thus the diviner is reproducing on a small scale the operations of Heaven and Earth, modified by Man, and finally arrives at one of the famous hexagrams (*Kua* 卦), each of which is one of the sixty-four possible combinations of the Positive and Negative Influences (*Yin Yang* 陰陽).

The development of seerdom is a part of the "fixation of the soul" which has been previously dicussed, and in its Taoist form again implies that the mind of man can be identified with the effects of Heaven and Earth.

Spiritistic divination very closely resembles in principle the procedure of Occidental "spiritualism." It is usually performed at the ancestral temple or grave of the departed spirit. A ritual of prayer, censing and chants is performed and the medium, who is usually an old woman, becomes obsessed by the deceased, speaks with his voice and announces the fate of the relations. This aspect of divination calls attention to the second dominant feature in Chinese notions as to fate, *viz*:—the influence of the dead. The whole system of ancestral worship, Feng-Shui, and spiritism, implies that after Heaven, Earth and the Superior Man, the Dead play the next most important part. If we substitute for these four the solar energy, earthly substance, cultural environment and heredity, it is obvious that the Chinese are not so far from the truth. Add to this that the operations of these causes are focussed principally in the subliminal mentality and can only be detected therein by the stimulation of automatism, we see that there is a perfectly logical basis for the main Chinese position in these matters. On the other hand, and this is the real point at issue between the East and West, the substitution of automatic revelation for conscious scrutiny, if carried beyond a certain point, opens the way to feebleness of mind and an inability to adjust oneself to new conditions, or, in plain language, it leads to superstition and conservatism.

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III. SEX IN CHINESE PHILOSOPHY.

It has often been remarked that the Chinese classics are free from "impure" suggestions. The literati have also always opposed, at least in theory, government by women and have traced many of the imperial misfortunes to the system of eunuchs. The female sex has always been looked down upon by Chinese thinkers, the only exceptions made being those of women of noteworthy chastity or continence. This indicates a mental condition which is similar to that of mediaeval Christianity, *i.e.*, the deliberate mental suppression of sexual emotion, and as such is quite as noteworthy as an over-expression of such ideas would be.

In the middle of the last century Canon McClatchie in translations of the *I Ching* and the works of Chu Hsi (朱熹) endeavoured to show that the Yin Yang system was fundamentally sexual and therefore *de facto* impure. His ideas did not meet with a sympathetic reception but there remains something to be said for them. Almost undoubtedly the philosophers who elaborated the Yin Yang system did consider that sex was the most noticeable form of duality in the human race, but the writer considers that they did so in a spirit of pure reason without any intention to reduce the cosmos to a base method of expression. Whatever may be said to the contrary, bipolar attraction and repulsion is a fundamental feature of things, and no modern philosopher worthy of the name can regard sex as mere accident.

In actual life there can be no disguising the fact that the Chinese man tends to be irregular in his sex relations, that the Chinese woman is over-repressed and that the general tone of current Chinese literature and custom in no way corresponds to the standard apparently set by the classical literature. Herein one may perhaps see the outworking of an idea which is current in India and Tibet, *viz*:—that sex energy is the fundamental source of evolutionary activity and may be diverted to mental ends by repression.

We may say that there are five distinct ways of regarding this question which are current in different parts of the world at different times:—

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(i) Sex emotion is a natural and most important fact in human life, and if diverted leads to abnormality generally of a mental kind. (Freud, Jung and Stanley Hall).
Extremists hold that all mental abnormalities arise in this way but this is almost certainly an over-statement.

(ii) Sex is an accidental character of which far too much is made. (Tolstoi).

(iii) Sex energy is the devil and needs to be repressed with all possible force. (Christian and Buddhist asceticism).

(iv) Sex energy is the raw material for the development of psychic forces. (Indian Tantrism or Kundalinism).

(v) The universe is sexual; all polarity is sex and all sex is polarity.

It would be absurd to lay down the law on such a subject in a short essay but it does appear to the writer that there is a comprehensive way of using all these ideas, and that the Yin Yang philosophy has made some progress towards such a notion which is simply as follows:—

Sex is a most important dual distinction of living beings, the energy of which is a large part of the vital impulse and can be controlled to a considerable extent for both mental and social ends, but cannot be wholly deprived of its essential character.

To those who have studied the subject this may appear a mere truism, but as there are many to whom the subject is too repellant or technical for analysis, this formula may serve for some as a means of understanding the Chinese point of view.

[To be continued.]

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WU-T'AI-SHAN AND THE DALAI LAMA

BY

CHRISTOPHER IRVING

Introductory Note.—The following account of Wu-t'ai-shan—one of the Four Famous Mountains of Chinese Buddhism—and the Dalai Lama, was written immediately after my return from the journey to which it refers. Though it has not hitherto been published, references to my reception by the Dalai Lama appear in Sir Francis Younghusband's *India and Tibet* (pp. 377 *ff.*). The information there given concerning my visit to Wu-t'ai was obtained by him from a short official account which I prepared for the use of the Foreign Office. Those who wish to acquire some accurate knowledge of the events which caused the Dalai to leave his capital and become a wanderer for several years in Mongolia and China could not do better than consult Younghusband's book. It is an authoritative narrative of an interesting and romantic episode in Anglo-Indian history, written by one who played a distinguished part in the events described, and who was responsible for the successful negotiations which followed the famous march to Lhasa.

A brief account of the Dalai Lama at Wu-t'ai-shan is given in a book by a French traveller, M. le Vicomte d'Ollone, of which an English translation has been published under the title *In Forbidden China*. M. d'Ollone visited the mountain and interviewed the Dalai shortly before the latter left Wu-t'ai for Peking. On page 300 he writes as follows: "Not far from

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where I was, at a distance of five days' march, in the retirement of the famous mountain of Wu-t'ai-shan, there resided at that moment, the Dalai Lama, the Living Buddha, the inaccessible pontiff-king of Tibet, whom none of our predecessors had succeeded in approaching." I may, perhaps, be permitted to remark, with regard to this passage, that my interview with the Dalai took place about two months before M. d'Ollone reached Wu-t'ai, and that we were both anticipated by a distinguished American--Mr. Rockhill.

Of all the sacred hills of Buddhist China none has had a longer or more illustrious Buddhistic history than Wu-t'ai shan. Its importance for the study of Buddhism can hardly be exaggerated. The student who has made himself familiar with the religious traditions of this one mountain may be said to have already equipped himself with a sound fundamental knowledge of the history of Chinese Buddhism from its earliest beginnings up to the present day.

Wu-t'ai has unquestionably owed much of its great religious importance to its geographical position. Though it formed part of the mountainous region of north-eastern Shansi, ancient highways through the central portion of that classic province always rendered it easily accessible from those old seats of Chinese imperial rule, Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an. But it also lies close to the western boundary of the present metropolitan province of Chihli, and is therefore within fairly easy reach of Peking; while its proximity to the vast Mongolian plateau is shown by the fact that its northern spurs are crossed by an inner section of the Great Wall of China.

It is not, then, to be wondered at that Wu-t'ai has always been peculiarly sensitive to the innumerable alterations of religious policy on the part of the rulers of the land. When a Buddhist emperor ascended the throne, Wu-t'ai was always the first or among the first of the holy hills to draw prosperity from the sunshine of imperial favour; and when, owing to Confucian hostility or other causes, Buddhism went under a cloud, that cloud was sure to break in a pitiless thunderstorm over the temples and pagodas of Wu-t'ai-shan.

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But Wu-t'ai has not been merely the passive recipient of favour and the passive victim of hostility. Its influence over the fortunes of Buddhism, in all the lands to which the Mahāyānist doctrines have penetrated, has been active and potent. The very rigours of its winter climate have had the indirect effect of extending its influence far and wide; for it has been the practice of many of its monks to leave Wu-t'ai at the approach of the cold weather and to spend the winter as pilgrims or as wandering "revivalists" among the monastic centres of the more genial south. In this way the fame of Wu-t'ai was carried at a very early date not only to the utter-most boundaries of China and its dependent states but even to countries that lay beyond the sphere of China's political activities. It was to Wu-t'ai, for example, that the Japanese empress Tachibana, in the ninth century of our era, despatched a memorable religious mission under the monk Egaku; and this mission was by no means the only one that found its way to Wu-t'ai from the court or monasteries of Japan. During the past six hundred years, however, by far the largest contingents of non-Chinese pilgrims to Wu-t'ai have come from Tibet and Mongolia. To the Mongolians, more especially, the mountain has long been an object of deep reverence; and indeed the influence of Lamaism (the corrupt form of Buddhism professed in the two countries just named) has become so strong that all the richest temples and most of the holiest places on the mountain have passed under Lama control. Communities of monks of the ordinary Chinese type, professing one or other of the usual forms of Chinese Buddhism, are still to be found at Wu-t'ai, but neither in numbers nor influence do they stand comparison with their Lamaist rivals. The high-priest or chief abbot is a "Living Buddha" who in secular affairs possesses many of the administrative powers of a civil "mandarin," and who in spiritual dignity is overshadowed only by the priestly rulers of Tibet and one or two of the most exalted of the prince-lamas of Mongolia.

In the eyes of the Buddhists of Mongolia and Tibet, the climax of Wu-t'ai's age-long fame was reached as recently as 1908; for in that year the sacred mountain received as

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its guest a personage no less holy and illustrious than the Dalai Lama himself. *

Though the royal pontiff had been a wanderer and an exile ever since he fled from Lhasa in 1904, it would be far from correct to assume that he suffered the miseries and privations of a hungry and hunted fugitive. He was never without an enormous retinue of courtiers and retainers, and he was careful to visit only those regions of Mongolia and north-western China in which he was sure of a worshipful reception. He arrived at Wu-t'ai about the middle of March, 1908, accompanied by a bodyguard of Tibetan troops and a small army of lamas. The baggage must have been prodigious in quantity, for it is said to have been distributed among no fewer than eight hundred camels; but a great deal of this baggage consisted of 'tribute' and of presents to be showered upon the court-officials of Peking on the occasion of the approaching state-visit to the emperor. The great man and the officials and ecclesiastical dignitaries who were in daily attendance on him were all accommodated in the lamasery which crowns the hill known as the Pusa-ting or (less familiarly) the Hill of the Spiritual Vulture. The remainder of the retinue distributed itself among the other monastic buildings on the adjoining slopes.

The great *Hui* or annual festival in honour of the patron-saint of Wu-t'ai—the Bodhisattva Wên-shu—occupies the second half of the sixth month (lunar calendar), but it is

* L. A. Waddell (*The Buddhism of Tibet* and *Lhasa and its Mysteries*) has shown that the designation *Dalai* (which, he points out, should properly be Talai or Talé) was a Mongolian title given by Altan Khan in 1576 to "the third of the series of yellow-cap hierarchs," and that the Dalais did not attain the temporal sovereignty of Tibet till two generations later. The first Dalai Lama, according to Rockhill, was born in 1543. His name was So-nam-jya-ts'o. "He visited Altan Khan, who had been prompted to invite him through Khutuktai Setzen his nephew, who, in 1566 had conquered Tibet. The Mongol princes, imagining that *jya-ts'o* (in Mongol *talai* or *talé*) was his family name, addressed him as Talé lama: such is the origin of the name." This is translated by Rockhill in his *Tibet from Chinese Sources* (*Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, April 1891, p. 286). He adds "The Tibetan name of the Talé Lama is Jyal-wa jya-ts'o (Ocean of Victory). He is also spoken of as Chyab gon rin-po-ch'e, 'Precious Protector.'"

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hardly too much to say that the pilgrim-season at Wu-t'ai lasts all through the summer. The year 1908 was one of unusual activity and unusual worldly prosperity for the monks and lamas of Wu-t'ai, inasmuch as the presence of the most august of the Living Buddhas greatly increased the sanctity of the mountain and attracted an unparalleled number of pilgrims. But if the resident monks and priests derived material as well as spiritual advantages from the presence of the Dalai Lama, they soon realized that these benefits carried with them some corresponding obligations and responsibilities. They discovered, for example, that His Holiness was not disposed to immure himself within the narrow limits of his residence on the Pusa-ting, or to content himself with receiving the homage of the faithful in his sumptuous throne-room; and when he announced his intention of paying a formal visit to every important shrine on Wu-t'ai-shan there was much dismay among the numerous abbots and lamas who had allowed their temple-buildings to fall into a state of decay or disorder, or had failed to maintain their censers and images and sacred vessels in a state of decorous cleanliness. As soon as the word had been passed round that the *Fo-yeh*—'the Lord Buddha'—intended to *ch'ao t'ai*—that is, to pay ceremonial visits to all the five peaks of the mountain and to all their temples—there was inaugurated a period of scouring and washing, restoring and burnishing, such as the holy mountain can rarely have known since the beginning of its long religious history.

The summer of 1908, then, was an exceptionally favourable time for making a journey to Wu-t'ai-shan. The temples shone with unwonted splendour, the monasteries were thronged with pilgrims from Tibet, Mongolia, and all the northern provinces of China, clouds of fragrant incense were rising ceaselessly from hundreds of altars, and on the sacred height of the Pusa-ting—one of the holiest places in the Far-Eastern world, if the veneration of fifty generations of devout Buddhists could make it so—sat enthroned the Lama-Pope.

In the course of a long and lonely ramble through western China, I arrived at Wu-t'ai-shan on July 4th, 1908.

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My little caravan approached the mountain from the north, and our first view of the monasteries and temples was obtained from the Hua-yen Pass, which is about 7,500 feet above sea-level. From this pass is clearly visible the little hill of the Spiritual Vulture *(Ling-chiu-fêng)* or *Pusa-ting* (Peak of the Bodhisattva), with the great lamasery sacred to the Bodhisattva Mañju'srî on its summit and the vast white pagoda or stupa, popularly but of course erroneously supposed to have been founded more than two thousand years ago by the Indian emperor Asoka, near its base. The Pusa-ting with its temples is the most conspicuous object in the long valley overlooked by the pass, but there are clusters of monastic buildings to be seen through all its visible length. From the Hua-yen pass to the Pusa-ting there is a direct path, perhaps four or five miles long. It is tortuous and rock-strewn until the floor of the valley is reached, after a descent of about fifteen hundred feet. The Pusa-ting rises only to a few hundred feet above the level of the valley, but the valley itself is about six thousand feet above sea-level. It is completely surrounded by the various hills of the Wu-t'ai range, though the five summits that give the mountain its name are not peaked and are not, therefore, very conspicuous. Trees are scarce except in the neighbourhood of the monasteries and in sheltered places, and the hill-slopes are therefore far less attractive to the eye than those of Wu-t'ai's rival in height and sanctity—the forest-clad Omei. Wu-t'ai has, indeed, its woodland ways and mossy fairylands, especially in the neighbourhood of the beautiful Nan-t'ai—the southernmost of the five summits—but the pilgrim who keeps to the beaten tracks between shrine and shrine is unlikely to find himself a guest in the sequestered homes of the dreaming rishi.

I found excellent quarters for myself and my party in the monastery or lamasery of the Ta-t'a or T'a-yüan-ssŭ, which derives its name and importance from the great white pagoda. I was therefore almost the next-door neighbour of the Dalai Lama. A few hours after my arrival I received an official call from a Chinese captain named Wang Fang-lin, who had been appointed by the Chinese Government to the command

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of His Holiness's Chinese body-guard. Wang and his little troop of cavalry, who belonged to the Chinese garrison at the town of Ta-t'ung, near the Great Wall, had been entrusted with duties which made their position extremely uncomfortable. The Chinese Government held them responsible for the Dalai Lama's personal safety, and expected them at the same time to prevent his horde of Mongols and Tibetans from preying upon defenceless Chinese farmers or from otherwise misbehaving themselves. Wang (assisted in this respect by two civil officials) was also expected to keep an eye on the political side of affairs and to report to his superiors any dealings which the Dalai might have with the outside world. What made Wang's position peculiarly difficult was that he and his troop of Chinese soldiers were regarded by the Dalai and his suite with a dislike and suspicion which they made no attempt to conceal. Wang himself was not admitted to the great man's presence, and indeed neither he nor the so-called Chinese body-guard were allowed within the precincts of the great lamasery. On the occasions when the Dalai issued forth on horseback for the purpose of visiting the shrines of Wu-t'ai-shan, he was followed and preceded by a cavalcade of his own Tibetans, and the Chinese guard with Wang at its head was obliged to take up a modest position at the rear of a procession of which it formed no recognized part.

The churlish attitude of the Tibetans may have been due partly to jealousy and partly to fear, but it is also probable that they regarded Wang as a spy. Wang himself was a thoroughly good-natured and well-meaning man who bore slights and insults with a dogged patience worthy of a nobler cause; but he confessed to me that he would feel relieved of a most disagreeable burden when the dilatory 'Buddha' resumed his migrations.

The privilege of entering the sacred precincts of the Dalai Lama's abode was denied to a Chinese official but it was readily accorded to a member of the race whose martial activity had obliged the incarnate Avalokitésvara to flee from his capital and his country. The news that an Englishman had arrived at Wu-t'ai was not long in reaching His Holiness's

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ears; and I was informed on the evening of my arrival that the Dalai Lama was prepared to receive me in private audience on the following day.

The well-known Asiatic custom of exchanging presents on occasions of ceremonial visits is strictly observed by Tibetans and Mongols; and one of the first remarks made to me by the Chinese-speaking lama through whom the details of the interview were arranged was a question as to the nature and number of the presents which I proposed to offer for the Dalai's acceptance. It was necessary that the presents should precede me, in order that they might be scrutinized and their value estimated by those officials whose task it would be to advise the "Buddha" as to the presents to be sent by him in return. I was faced by a somewhat perplexing problem. I had not visited Wu-t'ai for the express purpose of meeting the Dalai, and I had brought no presents with me except a few insignificant articles which I had intended for distribution among friendly villagers and petty officials, in the course of a lengthy journey. The most imposing of these articles was a stereoscope. There were also some thirty or forty stereoscopic photographs, which included several views of London and one of His Majesty King Edward VII driving in a state carriage through the gates of Buckingham Palace.

I was assured that these presents—especially the photograph of the emperor of India, whose minions had expelled the Living Buddha from his sacred capital, would gratify His Holiness immensely; but, feeling that their intrinsic value was hardly worthy of the occasion, I explained that I was quite ready to spend a little money for the benefit of the ruler of Tibet if there was anything to be bought at Wu-t'ai which was likely to meet with his approbation. "A happy thought," said the lama, with an intelligent smile. "You need not buy anything at all; send the money just as it is and let the Lord Buddha* have the spending of it."

The problem was thus solved to the general satisfaction. The stereoscope, the photographs, a pair of scissors, a pocket-knife, some lead pencils, and a few other small articles were

* Fo-Yeh.

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neatly tied up in paper parcels, and with them went a packet containing fifty taels in uncoined silver.

My interview with the Dalai Lama took place, as arranged, on Sunday, July 5. From my quarters in the T'a-yüan-ssŭ to the lamasery on the top of the Pusa-ting I was escorted by a body of Captain Wang's Chinese troops; and at the doorway I was received by a Tibetan guard and almost immediately ushered into a small audience-chamber. The Dalai Lama was already seated, awaiting my arrival. He sat on a low dais, and did not move from this position during the interview. He was clothed in a dark red robe, the upper part of which was partly concealed by a loose garment of yellow silk. The sleeves were cuffed with broad bands of blue. As to his personal appearance, little need be said here, for he subsequently became a familiar figure to many Europeans in Peking and (more recently) in India. One of his predecessors was described by an Englishman who made his way to Lhasa in 1811 as "poetically and affectingly beautiful."* To describe the present Dalai Lama in these terms would be unjustifiable, but at least it may be said that there was nothing disagreeable either in his manners or in his appearance.

Four or five attendant lamas stood at their sovereign's right hand, while on a table at his left were placed the presents which I had sent him on the previous day. One of the lamas acted as interpreter, for the conversation was conducted in Chinese on my part and in Tibetan on the part of my exalted host. I opened the interview with the orthodox Tibetan salutation, by unrolling in front of the Pontiff a ceremonial scarf (*k'a-tag*) made of yellow silk. The conversation that ensued was almost wholly of a formal and complimentary nature and did not last more than fifteen minutes. The Dalai Lama referred to his forthcoming visit to Peking, and remarked that he looked forward to meeting the British Minister there, in order that he might assure the minister of

* This occurs in Thomas Manning's rather gushing account of his experiences in Tibet. The passage is quoted in Waddell's *Lhasa and its Mysteries*.

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his anxious desire for the maintenance of eternal harmony between Tibet and the Indian empire. That this harmony had been unhappily interrupted in recent years was, he observed, entirely the result of regrettable misunderstandings. He asked some questions relating to my travels in various Buddhist lands, and evinced some curiosity regarding the present state of the Lamaist religion in England. On this subject I endeavoured to discourse with statesmanlike vagueness.

As I made my farewell bow, two lamas stepped forward at a sign from their master. One put over my shoulders a white silk scarf, the other placed in my hands a white paper parcel which looked familiar. I had no sooner withdrawn from the audience-chamber than the lama who had acted as interpreter hurried after me and pointed to the parcel. "That" he said "contains your fifty taels of silver. The Lord Buddha thanks you for your presents, but declines to accept the gift of money." "In that case," I replied, "please inform the Lord Buddha that it will be my pleasant duty to distribute this silver among the temples of Wu-t'ai." This distribution, I may add, duly took place on the eve of my departure from the mountain.

On returning to my own quarters I found that messengers had already arrived with presents from the Dalai. They consisted of rolls of red Tibetan cloth and several bundles of *Tsang-hsiang*—Tibetan incense of the finest quality.

Next day I learned from Captain Wang that the Dalai Lama's refusal to accept the gift of money was inspired by a wish to show Western foreigners that there was nothing sordid or mercenary about the incarnate Avalokitésvara. It must be admitted, however, that no such considerations prevented him or his suite from accepting handsome money-offerings from Mongols and Chinese; and, indeed, had he not received such offerings it is difficult to see how the daily expenses of himself and his enormous retinue could have been defrayed, in spite of the fact that he received a handsome allowance from the Chinese Government.

Two days before my departure from Wu-t'ai an incident took place which illustrated the inharmonious relations

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existing between the Pontiff's Tibetan suite and the Chinese guard, and showed at the same time that the Lord Buddha was not wanting in a certain rather malicious sense of humour which, if it might have been excused in a mere man, was hardly becoming in an incarnate divinity.

Captain Wang was obliged by his orders to accompany the Dalai Lama on all his excursions. One morning he was roused from sleep at an unusually early hour by the startling news that the Lord Buddha was lost. A lengthy cross-examination of the taciturn Tibetans who guarded the lamasery resulted in the discovery that His Holiness had slipped out of his quarters before daybreak with an escort of six or seven lamas and attendants and had been seen on horseback cantering briskly down the valley. Wang hastily donned his uniform and assembled his soldiers. As he was mounting his pony, a Tibetan lama from the Pusa-ting casually volunteered the information that the Lord Buddha had left word to the effect that he intended to pay a surprise visit to the Nan-t'ai, the most distant of the five summits of the sacred mountain. Captain Wang groaned, and perhaps uttered a malediction or two: for he was not of airy build, the weather was sultry, and his religious instincts were not of a soaring nature. In faithful obedience to his trust, however, he started off in pursuit of the errant pontiff, and did not draw rein until, after a long and tiresome journey of many miles, he arrived weary and travel-worn at the top of the Nan-t'ai to find not a trace of the Dalai Lama! Returning to the Pusa-ting, unkempt in outward appearance and dejected in spirit, the honest Wang learned how he had been tricked. The Dalai had gone only as far as the Kuan-yin-tung, a temple picturesquely situated on a steep hillside within a short walk of the Pusa-ting itself. The unhappy Wang had passed within sight of this little temple on his way to the Nan-t'ai, and from its upper windows his movements had been inspected with amused interest by the Living (and laughing) Buddha.

In September, 1908, the Dalai Lama left Wu-t'ai and paid his memorable state-visit to Peking. He was received in audience and suitably entertained by that unhappy

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captive-emperor, Kuang-hsü, and the masterful empress-dowager. His formal reception was, indeed, one of the last great court-ceremonies of the reign, for the two rulers of China—the real and the nominal—both died while he was still in the capital.

An indication of the Dalai Lama's theoretical position with respect to the suzerain power is to be found in the rules which governed the relations between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Amban or Resident at Lhasa. In the *Hsi-tsang T'u-k'ao* we read that when the Amban interviewed the Dalai he was formerly obliged to approach him with a reverent obeisance; but in the fifty-eighth year of Ch'ien-lung (1793) an imperial edict was issued in which it was ruled that the Amban was equal in rank to the Dalai Lama and therefore should not do obeisance as an inferior. In consequence of this edict, the Amban and Dalai thenceforward greeted one another on terms of equality.

Partly for political reasons, and partly because he was the privileged guest of the Chinese nation, the Dalai Lama during his visit to Peking was treated with somewhat exaggerated respect. But the empress-dowager may well have regarded the Tibetan potentate with an interest that was not based on considerations of state-policy. She herself, like her predecessors on the throne of the Manchus, professed a more or less fervent belief in the Lamaist form of Buddhism; more than this, it is a well-known fact that in her lighter hours Her Majesty was wont to look upon herself as an avatar of Kuan-yin, and, indeed, it can be proved that she posed as such before the photographer's camera. Now as the Dalai Lamas are also understood to be incarnations of Kuan-yin (the Chinese name for Avalokitésvara), it is obvious that a delicate problem for courtiers and ecclesiastics would have arisen if Her Majesty had called upon them to define the precise nature of the Dalai's spiritual relationship to herself, or to pronounce judgment as to whether it was he or she who was a false pretender to the honours of bodhisattvaship. But if it ever occurred to the capricious empress to put her faithful courtiers to confusion by propounding any such problem, a mightier power than either empress or priest-king

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speedily intervened to relieve them from the necessity of solving it. Before the Dalai's short visit to Peking had come to an end, the empress-dowager ceased to illuminate the darkness of this unappreciative world; and it need not surprise us to learn that the Peking populace regarded her death as a striking illustration of the well-known fact that if two "Living Buddhas," or two incarnations of the same Bodhisattva, are rash enough to manifest themselves simultaneously in the same place, one of them must perforce withdraw to another world to await in patience the result of one more revolution of the wheel of metempsychosis.

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A MING DYNASTY PAINTING

THE coloured picture, which is presented to our readers by the generosity of an anonymous donor, is reproduced from a painting on silk by Ch'iu Ying 仇英, who lived in the middle of the sixteenth century. Ch'iu Ying was celebrated as a copyist rather than as an original artist; but in China the copying of masters is not regarded as it is in the West, where it brings little honor.

The subject of the painting is an imperial garden scene. The Emperor is seen critically or sentimentally looking on a scroll held before him by court ladies. This is the celebrated Emperor Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 of the T'ang dynasty, whose reign of 44 years began in glory and ended in shame. He came to the throne in 713, and is commonly referred to as the Emperor Ming Huang 明皇, from his posthumous title. For a time he was a model ruler, but after some years he changed and went from bad to worse. His passion for the famous Yang kuei fei 楊貴妃 destroyed him. She was a concubine of one of his sons, but was transferred to the father's harem, was promoted to be *kuei fei*, (second rank of concubine), and through her great beauty won such power over the infatuated monarch that he left the rule of his empire to others, especially the favourite's family, while he plunged with her into a life of infamous extravagance and luxury. This resulted in an insurrection, the flight of the court, the demand of his own soldiers for vengeance on the Yang family, the execution of the beautiful favourite before his eyes, and his abdication.

In the picture Yang kuei fei is seen seated, with court ladies in attendance, listening to to the court band of musicians, quite like a good person.

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ARCHIBALD J. LITTLE

ARCHIBALD JOHN LITTLE (b., April 1838, d., Nov. 1908) was born in the city of London, the eldest son of a physician, (reckoned among the distinguished men of his time for his original work in medicine and surgery). Educated at St. Paul's School, then under the shadow of the Cathedral, and at the Berlin Gymnasium, he next learnt the tea business at Thompson's in Mincing Lane. What seemed to his father a favourable opening presenting itself, he went out to China in 1859 to join a German firm. His first engagement came to an abrupt end, for on his first Sunday, when he expressed a wish to go to church, the head of the firm himself instructed the chair coolies where to take him. The lad, finding he had been taken to a den of infamy, went home as best he could and horse-whipped his taipan. This stormy opening did not prevent him from rising in business. From the first he studied Chinese with a Chinese teacher, who all through life remained one of his ideals, and his knowledge of the language led to his being employed to carry treasure during the Taiping rebellion through the region occupied by the rebels, between the head waters of the Tsientang river and the Poyang Lake. A series of letters to his father about these travels described also his visit to the celebrated King-tê-Chen porcelain works, the first time a European had entered them. The contents

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of two stalls were broken over his head when some chance betrayed that he was not a Chinese.

He started business on his own account in 1862, at the newly opened port of Kiukiang; this was merged two years later in a new firm, which he assisted in founding in Shanghai. When this was shortly after wound up he continued in business with his brother Robert, afterwards so well known for many years as the Editor of the *North China Daily News*. A third brother, Louis, became also distinguished in China, especially for his treatment of abscesses of the liver.

Unfortunately, whilst Archibald Little was in England, starting a London branch of his business, his brother and partner decided to leave China, and the business he had built up was shortly afterwards wrecked. Archibald Little turned what seemed a crushing misfortune into what became the success of his life, proceeding first to Ichang and then to Chungking, and from that time devoting himself to opening up Western China to trade, whilst connecting it with the rest of the world by steam navigation. In 1887 he succeeded in getting built a stern-wheel steamer with which he hoped to navigate the rapids of the Upper Yangtse. But the Chinese Government refused to allow him to try, compelling him to sell S. S. *Kuling*.

He had married in 1886 Alicia Bewicke, already some what known as philanthropist and novelist, and he and his wife now considered whether they should leave China for ever with the money he had made. Half they longed for England, but his love for China conquered. A new treaty between China and Japan a few years later altered the position, the little steamer *Leechuen* was built in Shanghai, and acting as his own captain and engineer, his wife the only European with him, he set out from Shanghai in January 1898, arriving triumphantly at Chungking on March 8, 1898, to be greeted with enthusiasm by the Chinese there, as well as by all Europeans. Since that time steam navigation has never ceased, and there are now several steamers plying between Ichang and Chungking. Until he ran his own little steamer between Hankow and Ichang, in winter, that bit of the river had always been considered impassable, except in summer;

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therefore he may be considered to have added 1500 miles of river to the navigation of the world, through some of the most beautiful scenery the world can shew, and also brought the rich and fertile province of Szechuan into commercial relations, from which it had so far been cut off by the mountains that enclose it.

On his first voyage to Chungking in 1884 he wrote letters to his father, which, more fortunate than those written on his travels among the Taiping rebels, were safely preserved and were published as *Through the Yangtse Gorges*, in 1888. The book immediately won favourable recognition, has passed through several editions, and has not yet been superseded as a guide to the Upper Yangtse. He had previously written a *Retrospect of Events in China During the Year 1875* for the China Branch of the Asiatic Society; as also, for a Shanghai newspaper, a very charming account of yachting in the Chusan archipelago, but it was *Through the Yangtse Gorges* that established him as an author. *To Mount Omi and Beyond* soon followed, with a continuous stream of articles, mostly embodied, like the two previously mentioned, in *Gleanings from Fifty Years in China*, brought out after his death. But his great work was *The Far East*, written for Mr. MacKinder's series, shewing how the history of each country is the outcome of its Geography and Geology. A third edition of this book has lately appeared, or rather it should be called a reprint, no one having been found capable of bringing it up to date. *Across Yunnan*, consisting of his letters to his brother's newspaper and again published after his death, necessarily lacks his final corrections and elaborations, but is so far the only English volume on this most fascinating region.

The Rat's Plaint, a translation in verse of an old Chinese legend, he wrote as amusement when he and his wife were about to establish their home in beautiful Szechuan, she writing *A Marriage in China* on the same 26 days' voyage from Ichang to Chungking. It would he impossible to describe the hard work done in England, addressing Geographical Societies and Municipal Meetings, trying to get people to have sufficient faith in his schemes for China

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to put money into them. But now a fresh enterprise attracted him. Steamers require coal, and at last not far from Chungking he discovered and obtained a concession for a coal mine, equal if not superior to Cardiff. Eager to perfect the working of it, he was trying to obtain leave to run a light railway from the coal mine to the river when his health suddenly gave way, and he left for England, a dying man, broken hearted that his schemes had not been crowned with complete success. He had pictured a smiling, well-fed population, no longer crawling in the dark on hands and knees into the mine, but erect, loading trucks and making a steam engine do their hard work for them. He had pictured happy homes for his Chinese workers, schools, and a Recreation Club,—also the best coal in the world got out in the best way. He had hoped to see no more ill-paid trackers risking their lives in the remorseless rapids. From the first he had delighted in the study of the Chinese language, loved the Chinese people, and when already too weak to sit up he began the book it had for years been his dream to write, *The History of China*. But he could but begin it. "At least footbinding has been done away with!" he said one day "That *has* been accomplished." His heart had been wrung during his first visit to Chungking by the agonised wailing of a little girl whose feet were being bound, while he was staying a guest in her father's house, and he had often said "If any war could be justified it would be a war to conquer the Chinese just for one day and then forbid for ever that cruel torture." He inspired his wife with the desire to free the womanhood of China from binding their feet; he helped and guided the movement. And this satisfaction he certainly had that, thanks to him, footbinding was done away with in some parts, and checked in others many years sooner than it otherwise would have been.

Whilst dying he would often repeat lines by Miss Maud Battersby, beginning,

"So much to do! so little time to do it!

Graved in granite over his Cornish tomb (in Falmouth) tand the last, his favourite lines:

"Our longing for the Perfect is a token
That we shall reach Perfection's Home some day."

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TAOIST TALES

BY

MAJOR W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

[*Continued from page 18*].

PART II

ONE of the earliest collections of Taoist and other marvellous tales is that published under the title *Sou shên chi* 搜神記. Critics say that the collection as originally written was lost, and that the existing versions are made up of a number of fragments rescued from other works and pieced together with considerable amplification from the pen of the compiler. Several different editions of the book are to be obtained at the present day. The one used here is dated 1875, and contains twenty *chüan*. According to its sub-title, the author was a certain Kan Pao 干寶 (*hao* Ling-shêng) of Hsin-ts'ai, who lived under the Chin dynasty and was an equerry in personal attendance upon the emperor 晉散騎常侍新蔡干寶令升. Other accounts give his name as Yü Pao 于寶. See Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, and De Groot, *Religious Systems of China*, IV, pp. 78, 126. Quoted in the latter is an interesting account of the circumstances that gave rise to the writing of the book.

Together with the *Sou shên chi* there is often sold a supplement in ten *chüan*, called *Sou shên hou chi*, which is attributed to the chrysanthemum-loving poet and dilettante

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T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛, better known as T'ao Yüan-ming 陶淵明. T'ao Ch'ien was born in the middle of the fourth century, about a generation later than Kan Pao.

The second of the following tales has many parallels in the folklore of other countries, and probably for that reason may be found more readable than many of these legends by those unfamiliar with the thought and feeling of Taoism; for it must be admitted that some initiation is necessary before the Western mind can appreciate much in Taoist lore that is entirely foreign to our civilization. The present writer ventures to contend, however, that no Taoist tale, seemingly fatuous at first sight, should be dismissed without study as worthless. Sympathetic search will often reveal underlying an apparently weedy tangle many a flower of human thought and endeavour.

THE HERMIT OF CHIAO SHAN 焦山.

Chiao Shan is the rocky islet in the Yangtse near the treaty port of Chinkiang, known to foreigners as Silver Island. The beauty of the island and its surroundings has attracted many lovers of nature—disciples of Lao Tzŭ and Sakyamuni alike—wishing to escape from worldly vanities. Its shores are rich in ancient associations. On its western side, looking out upon a long vista of the mighty river, is a cave sacred to the memory of the sage who made it his hermitage, and thrice refused the imperial mandate to an audience at Court.

TRANSLATION FROM *Sou shên chi*, I, 2.

To one who had lived the life of a hermit on Silver Island for the space of seven years Lao Chün gave a wooden awl, telling him to bore through a rock five feet thick with it. "When this rock is bored right through," said he, "you will attain to *TAO*."

At the end of forty years the rock was perforated, and indeed the hermit had by then mastered the mysteries of hsienship.

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The Fairy of the Conch, 螺女

An immense conch-shell is the clue to the identification in pictures of the subject of this tale. Several variations of the theme are to be found in Taoist literature.

Translation from *Sou shên hou chi*, V, 1.

There lived in Fu-chou (lit. 候官) during the reign of An Ti 安帝 of the Chin 晉 dynasty [A.D. 397-418] a man named Hsieh Tuan 謝端. Left an orphan early in life with no relatives to care for him, he was brought up by a neighbour till he reached man's estate. The life he led was blameless; for his character was strong and upright, and his bearing modest and courteous. When the time came for him to fend for himself in the world, his neighbours pitied him because he had no wife. They took counsel together about getting him married, but were unsuccessful.

Tuan was late to bed and early to rise, labouring in the fields with ceaseless industry. Scarcely did he stop day or night, so hard did he work.

Time went on till one day he picked up at the foot of the city wall a huge conch-shell, big as a three-pint pot. Regarding it as a great rarity, he carried it back with him, and put it for safe keeping inside a jar, where he left it for the next fortnight or so. Tuan continued as usual to set forth early each dav for his work in the country, but on returning home found that a hot meal had been prepared for him. He imagined that he was indebted to a neighbour for this kindness, and, since things continued thus for some time, thought it only right to go and thank him. The neighbour replied "Why thank me for what I have never done?" Tuan thought that the neighbour had misunderstood his meaning, but when the same thing occurred several times, he was more insistent in his questioning. Thereupon the neighbour laughed and said, "My dear boy, you have evidently brought a wife home on the sly and set her to do your cooking. Why pretend that I did it for you?" Tuan was dumbfounded and full of perplexity, not understanding the affair.

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Some days afterwards he set forth, as was his wont, at cock-crow, but as soon as it was light crept back home stealthily, and peeping through the fence, looked into the room. There as he watched he saw step out from the jar a young girl, who proceeded to kindle a fire in the stove. Tuan entered and walked over to the jar to look for the conch-shell, but all he saw was the girl busy at the stove. He exclaimed "Bride, whence came you to be my helpmate?" The sound of this voice threw the girl into a state of great alarm and embarrassment, and instinctively she sought to get back within the jar; but in vain, for Tuan blocked the way. Then she answered: "I am the Spirit of Crystal Streams (Pai shui su nü 白水素女) and I come from the Milky Way. Because you were orphaned so young and because your conduct is modest and prudent, the Supreme Ruler of Heaven 天帝 took pity on you and specially charged me to look after your home and prepare your meals for the space of ten years. Should you get rich or marry before ten years had passed, my orders were to return. But, now you have needlessly and by stealth taken me unawares and pried upon me. Since you have beheld me in the flesh, it is no longer seemly that I remain; I must abandon my mission and depart. However, from now onwards you may somewhat abate your toil in the fields, and take to fishing and gathering firewood as a means of livelihood. For I will leave this shell behind me, and your store of rice, if kept in it, will never fail." Tuan besought her to remain, but all to no avail. Just at that moment there came a sudden gust of wind and rain, and with it the fairy vanished. He set up a shrine to her memory, and there made votive offerings on days of festival.

Tuan always had enough for his needs, but never gained great riches. One of the local gentry gave him his daughter to wife; and eventually he attained to the office of a district magistrate.

To the present day there stands on the road to Fu-chou a shrine dedicated to Su Nü 素女, who is no other than the Fairy of the Conch.

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TING LING-WEI 丁令威

This is one of the *hsien* associated in legend and art with the crane—a bird eminently fitted to serve as an emblem of longevity; for according to popular belief it lives to a fabulous age. Indeed, it is often called 仙鶴.

Ting Ling-wei appears in pictures with a crane beside him, or he is shewn being carried through the clouds astride its back. Sometimes he figures transformed into his bird shape, and perched upon one of the carved pillars that formerly were used as grave monuments.

The following is translated from *Sou Shên hou chi, chüan* I, p. 1:—

Ting Ling-wei was a native of Liao-tung 遼東 [the Manchurian province of Shêng-ching 盛京], who studied *TAO* in the Ling-hsü Mountain 靈虛山. By and by he transformed himself into a crane and flew back home, where he perched upon a tombstone near one of the city gates. A youth raised his bow with the intention of shooting him; whereupon, flying to and fro in the sky, Ting sang these words:—

"A bird there is and that is Ting Ling-wei,
His home he left a thousand years ago;
Its walls unchanged, its folk now turned to clay:
Far better be a *hsien* than moulder so."

Then he soared up to heaven.

At the present day people living in Liao-tung, who bear the family name of Ting, will tell you that an ancestor of theirs ascended to Heaven and became a *hsien*, but they do not know what were his personal names (*ming* and *tzŭ*).

HAO TA-T'UNG 郝大通

Artists have naturally chosen the one incident in this somewhat dull tale that lends itself to pictorial treatment. It is, moreover, a situation that appeals to their sense of humour. A bearded unkempt figure, Hao Ta-t'ung sits cross-legged beside stream and bridge and surrounded by a band of

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laughing urchins, whose childish sport is in telling contrast to the dignified aloofness of the venerable sage. Rapt in meditation, so still does he sit that the stones piled upon his head keep the shape of a miniature pagoda.

The tale is derived from a popular illustrated book of Taoist tales that, like the *Lieh hsien chuan* of Huan-ch'u, is omitted from the official canon 道藏.

TRANSLATION FROM *Lieh hsien ch'üan chuan* VIII, 16. 列仙全傳

Hao Ta-t'ung was a native of Ning-hai 寧海, and was known as the Ancient One 太古 (*tzŭ*), and as the Serene Philosopher 恬然子 (*hao*). He was quite young when his father died, and thereafter he ministered to his mother's wants with extraordinary dutifulness and filial piety.

Once in a dream a divine being 神人 made clear to him the secret meaning of the Canon of Changes 易經 handed down from the Chou age. Thus he was enabled to grasp the meaning of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 and to master the arts of music, astronomy, and divination.* On the festival of the 9th day of the 9th moon† at Ning-hai he underwent transmutation and entered into possession of *TAO*. Some time after on Mount Ch'i 岐山 he met him who had expounded the Canon of Changes in his dream. Of all that Hao foretold relating to happiness and misfortune. not one prophecy remained unfulfilled.

Hao Ta-t'ung was seated in silent meditation close by the bridge of Chao Chou 趙州, when one day in order to divert a crowd of urchins he piled up upon the crown of his head loose bricks and stones in the shape of a pagoda, and told them not to knock it down. Rapt in contemplation and oblivious of his surroundings, so motionless did he sit that,.

* 卜筮 lit., divination both by the tortoise-shell and grass-stalk methods.

† When people climb heights for kite-flying and picnics, with a view to obtain longevity, in commemoration of the escape of Huan Ching, 桓景 from a general slaughter, of which he had been warned by the magician Fei Chang-fang 費長房.

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although the river overflowed, he remained thus with the tower of stones intact for the space of six years.

In the first year of the *pao-ch'ing* period [A.D. 1225] he cast the slough of his mortal body at the Hsien-t'ien Monastery 先天觀, Ning-hai, and became a *hsien*. He had then reached the age of 73, and three years before that had made all preparations for his own funeral.

[*To be continued.*]

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A STUDY IN EARLY CHINESE RELIGION

BY

ARTHUR MORLEY

THE adjective in the title to these papers is meant to include the time of the first contemporary records; that is, to the close of the period embraced by the *Ch'un-ch'iu* classic. The authorities on which we thus have to depend are few in number, but there are very different views current concerning their authenticity, and it is therefore advisable to tell the reader how they will be regarded in these papers.

I. The *Shu-ching*. The last book of this classic is of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period itself; it, and the one before it, may however have been added since the collection was made; but it is not safe to regard the classic as having been compiled earlier than the 7th century, B.C. The compiler tells us plainly that the first five books, (the "I and Chi" is part of the original "Counsels of Kao-yao,") were written by himself after a study of antiquity, and are not ancient documents. Coming to later times he found original documents which could be used entire, and to them he added explanatory notes of the circumstances in which they were written. The principle which guided him in his selection was rather to teach ethics than to preserve history; so that the documents which he chose are largely hortatory and most of the historical facts of the *Shu-ching* depend on the authority of the compiler in the

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7th century, and it is in these parts of the classic that we find most of the references to religion: as, however, he found original documents suitable to his ethical purpose there were probably other records which would supply the facts for the brief narratives.

Special reference is required here to only one book—the Tribute of Yü; it surveys an extent of empire which cannot have existed before the time of King Hsüan, and therefore it is one of the latest books of the classic.

After the burning of the classics by Shih Huang-ti, two versions of the *Shu-ching*, the "Ancient Text" and the "Modern Text," were recovered; neither was complete, and half the books of the original classic are lost. An influential school of modern criticism maintains further that the Ancient Text was again lost and that those books of the present classic which were not in the Modern Text are forgeries of the 6th century A.D. As however this view is not received universally, readers will probably be divided between the two schools; so that these doubtful books should not be wholly disregarded in these papers, but when used they will be noted.

II. The *Preface* to the *Shu-ching* may have been written by the compiler, but probably it is of later date.

III. The *Shih-ching* or Book of Odes, though compiled after the *Shu-ching*—probably immediately before Confucius' time,—its contents are more genuine, in not being annotated or mixed with the views of its compiler. The difficulty is to ascertain the date of the individual odes; but when this can be done they are genuine documents.

IV. The *Ch'un-ch'iu* is the original state-annals of Lu, unaltered but only abridged, probably by Confucius, for publication. Written by a succession of official historiographers, they are genuine historical records.

V. The *Tso-chuan* will be taken as the work of Tso-ch'iu Ming 左邱明 of the Analects and for whom Confucius made his abstract of the Lu annals. We shall allude to him, perhaps incorrectly, as Tso-shih. It may be thought that, considering the remoteness of the times of Yao and Shun he is, as an authority on those times, not much inferior to the compiler of the *Shu-ching*; but two and perhaps more

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centuries would make a difference to the documents, especially when we consider the constant decline of the royal house and the activity at that time of irresponsible chroniclers; nor does his historical judgment inspire equal confidence; two reasons for this must suffice here: he evidently had scanty knowledge of the royal archives, where the best documents would be lodged, and with even poorer opportunities he still ventures to carry his statements further back and with more detail than the older historian dare.

VI. The Bamboo Annals are taken as work of the 3rd century, B.C. They are not official, but were compiled before the destruction of the feudal states and whilst their records were still extant.

VII. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's annals of Ch'in were, he says, drawn from the official chronicle, and will be received as such. In his essay on religion (ch. 28) he adds many facts which are not in his Ch'in annals and so will not be used in these papers.

VIII. The *I-ching* or Book of Changes: the original text on the sixty-four hexagrams is a work of our period, but the appendices are all to be considered as being later.

The above authorities, of varying weight, will be used in these papers, and as far as possible we hope to keep ourselves unbiassed by the opinions of later writers. The *Chou-li* is probably a work of the late years of the Chou dynasty and much of the *Li-chi* is later still.

These opinions are not meant to be dogmatic; they may all be contested by the reader, and are only given to explain upon what principles the following papers are based.

EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS IN THE NOTES.

A—The Analects.
B—The Annals of the Bamboo Books.
D—The Doctrine of the Mean.
H—The *Shu-ching*.
L—Dr. Legge's Chinese Classics.
M—Mencius.
O—The *Shih-ching*.
P—The Preface to the *Shu-ching*.

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R—The *Li-chi*.
SM—Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien: his chapters being long, and in most editions not divided into paragraphs, the volume and page of Prof. Chavannes' translation are given.
T—The *Tso-chuan*: for convenience of reference the figures refer to the page in Dr. Legge's translation in the 5th vol. of his Chinese Classics.
The romanization adopted is that Giles' Dictionary.

SECTION I. NATURE WORSHIP.

The most prominent and probably the most ancient of those regular sacrifices to natural objects which were continued into later times was the *wang* 望. When Shun in the ancestral temple had taken over the government in the first month and had examined the gemmous revolving sphere, he offered a *lei* 類, sacrifice to Shang-ti, a *yin* 禋, to the Six Honoured Ones, a *wang* to the hills and streams, and extended his knowledge to the host of spirits. In the second month he made an imperial progress to Mount T'ai in the east, where, after a burnt offering, he offered a *wang* to the hills and streams in order and then received the nobles of that region; in the fifth, eighth and eleventh months he went to the south, west and north, performing the same ceremonies; then he returned to the ancestral temple and offered a single steer.* Later he formed the twelve provinces and raised mounds upon twelve hills, presumably one in each province, for the *wang* sacrifice.† The Canon of Shun is not a contemporary document but history written when the *Shu-ching* was compiled in the middle of the Chou dynasty; in many of the other books documents are quoted, but not here: the author may have had some sort of memoranda of the early emperors and he says that he had examined into antiquity; but if he found any genuine records it was necessary to re-write, explain and expand them, and it is impossible

* H—II, i. 4-8.
† H—II, i. 10.

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to be sure how far they justified his conclusions: thus, the paragraph concerning the first month of Shun's administration is probably the author's summary of what he took to be the religious observances of the time, rather than a genuine record of what was actually done in that month. Chinese writers, especially the older ones, have an inbred tendency to regard their national customs as of immemorial antiquity; and while we cannot deny that our author had ground for saying that Shun, whilst still at his centre of government offered a *wang* sacrifice generally to the hills and streams, and then in the four quarters offered it to them individually, we must suspect that he is really carrying the customs of his own time into the far past. Still, if any reliance is to be placed upon him at all, the names of Shun's sacrifices are likely to be correct: the *wang* was then in use; it was the most frequent of all the sacrifices and was offered locally on the hills of the four quarters. The Tribute of Yü is no better an authority for those times; according to it the hero when engaged upon the flood sacrificed on various hills;* the rite here is called *lü* 旅, a word usually meaning "bodyguard" or "visitor," and it is not said to include the streams, but how else it differed from the *wang* does not appear, and it is not mentioned again. These are the only references to the worship of hills in the more authentic books of the *Shu-ching*. In the doubtful "Completion of the War" we read that King Wu, on his march against Yin, made an announcement to "great Heaven, sovereign Earth, and the famous hills and great rivers by which he passed";† here the hills and rivers are considered apart from the sovereign earth. The same book says that after the battle of Mu he offered a burnt offering and a *wang*, announcing the completion of the war.‡

The *Tso-chuan* gives ample proof that the *wang* was a fundamental rite in the Nature worship of the mid-Chou dynasty in all the feudal states. It was offered to the natural features of the country, and also in times of flood, drought,

* H—III, i. (i.) 65, 76, (ii.) 14; cf. A—III, 6.
† H—V, iii. 6.
‡ H—V, iii. 3.

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pestilence, or illness of the ruler;* and such phrases as "the host of *wang*" imply a number of lesser objects which might be worshipped.† Every state presided over the hills and streams within its borders; so when there happened to be a great landslip upon a mountain, or when a river became nearly dry, it was noted in the records, and the prince curtailed his dishes, did not appear in full dress or indulge in music; he lodged outside the city, ordered silk offerings to be prepared and the Recorder to write a confession of his faults, and then did sacrifice.‡ It followed that he could offer the *wang* only in his own state, and when King Chao of Ch'u 楚 was ill, divination attributed it to the Ho and he was urged to sacrifice to that river, but he refused, saying, "According to the sacrifices commanded by the three dynasties, a ruler may not go beyond his own state to offer the *wang*; although I am deficient in virtue my faults are not against the Ho." § Such appears to have been the rule, and it was in conformity with what we gather was the real object of the *wang*,—the welfare of the state. Nevertheless, King Chao's ancestor, after his great victory at Pi, sacrificed to the Ho where the battle was fought‖, and a marquis of Chin once asked for royal permission to sacrifice to a river and some hills on the other side of the Yellow River and presumably in the royal domain, but his real object was to attack the Jung 戎 of that neighbourhood;¶ and in neither of these two instances is the sacrifice called a *wang*.

We are told very little of the form of the rite, but Shun is said to have raised mounds, which suggest altars, and when the marquis of Chin sacrificed to the hill in the royal domain he used victims. The word *wang* means to "look towards," as though the sacrifice were not actually on the mountain, but the journeys to it shew that it was offered at least in its neighbourhood, and the mounds

° T—617b, 649-650, 665b, 672a, 717b.
† T—617b, 650.
‡ T—357b; the sacrifice here is not named.
§ T—810b; cf. R—III, iii. 6.
‖ T—321a.
¶ T—668a.

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were upon it though not necessarily on the summit. This worship of mountains largely affected the governmental policy, and the tours of inspection which were made by the kings were really pilgrimages to the hills of the four quarters, whilst the guardianship of a hill was sufficient reason for creating a feudal lordship.* Though a mountain appears to have been the principal object of the *wang*, rivers, as we have seen, partook in the rite; and they, especially the Ho, more often than mountains, are called upon to witness an oath or to grant a prayer—a piece of jade or some precious thing being cast into the water.† In these passages the *Tso-chuan* frequently speaks definitely of the spirit, *shên*, inhabiting the river, in a way not found in the older books, where hills and streams are sacrificed to as if themselves sentient and influential.

We gather, then, that the *wang* was originally a local rite to individual hills, and that in Shun's time even the regular state sacrifices at appointed times were performed at least within sight of the hill itself. But in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period there is a new idea attached to the regular sacrifice in the feudal states which may have influenced the writer of the Canon of Shun when he described the first month of the emperor's reign. In Lu the state *wang* had become ancillary to the *chiao* sacrifice to Heaven and was called the "Three *wang*"; the numeral is explained, probably correctly, by supposing that in Lu there were three great natural objects of worship, yet it was only one sacrifice, offered not at any of the objects themselves, but in the suburb of the capital, to all of them, and it comprehended the whole state. It was the Lu sacrifice to Earth as correlate of Heaven, and the combined rite was an expression of the idea of unity in all the powers of nature; yet the numeral in the name betrays the original *wang* to have been local. The *fang* 方 sacrifice to the four quarters would seem to express the notion of the Earth in its entirety better than the sacrifice to individual hills and streams; the *wang*, however, was probably more

* A—XVI, i. 4.

† T—190b, 261b, 557b, 703a, 748b, etc.

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ancient and more widely used, and was connected especially with the more concrete features of the earth, those active agencies which poured blessings upon men; and the choice of it as ancillary to the great sacrifice to Heaven was from an instinct of dependence upon fundamental nature as seen in the hills and streams.

The next sacrifice of Nature worship was the *shê* 社; it goes back at least to the Hsia dynasty, and being mentioned in the document of the "Speech at Kan"* its early use is better authenticated than even that of the *wang*: and the duke of Chou 周公, the day after offering two bulls outside the city offered a single bull at the *shê* altar in the city.† In the book of Odes the imperial *shê* is mentioned only twice, once in time of drought and both times in connection with the *fang*.‡ The Lu annals do not tell us of any specific *shê* sacrifice, but it was at this altar that victims were offered at eclipses,§ floods,‖ and fire;¶ it was probably also here that the *yü* 雩, sacrifice for rain, was offered, which is so often mentioned in the classic.** All these had to do with gathering in the produce of the land, the *shê* was the altar of the fruitful soil worked by man.

The passage in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* about the sacrifice in time of flood says that the altar then used was the one "at the gate"; there were, then, more than one altar of the name, and indeed they were all over the country for the use of

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* H—III, ii. 5.

† H—V, xii. 5.

‡ O—II, vi. 7; III, iii. 4.

§ S—III, xxv. 3; xxx. 5; VI, xv. 5.

‖ S—III, xxv. 5.

¶ T—671b.

** Mostly in the autumn but also as early as the seventh month: S—VIII, vii. 8; IX, xvii. 5; X, iii. 5; xxv. 4; XI, vii. 6; etc.; these being mentioned would be special, though they are all called "great." According to the *Tso-chuan* the regular sacrifice for rain —as in the early part of the year (T—46a, cf. R—IV, ii. (ii.) 8). On one occasion of drought in Wei, they made enquiry by the tortoise-shell whether sacrifices should be offered to the hills and streams (T—177b) but, especially as the answer was unfavourable, this does not invalidate the statement that the proper place for the *yü* was the *shê* altar.

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husbandry; and when Ch'i ceded lands to Wei, it gave five hundred *shê* altars.*

The statement in the *Li-chi* that, besides the *chiao*, the *shê* sacrifice in Lu was by royal grant, must be qualified; if it means merely that royal rites were allowed to the marquises, it may be so, but the altars being all over the state they were used by the people as well as by the ruler,† also the *shê* and *chi* 稷 were the two principal altars in all the feudal states, and on one occasion the marquis of Lu went to Ch'i expressly to see its *shê* altars.

In the doubtful "Great Declaration" King Wu declares that he offered an *I* 宜 to "great Earth,"‡ and as we have seen in another doubtful book, he made an announcement to "sovereign Earth"; in both of these passages the word is *t'u* 土, the soil or agricultural ground in distinction to *ti* 地, the earth; Dr. Legge translates *I* by "do reverence to" and whether it was the name of a specific sacrifice may be doubted; at all events, like the *lü* in the Tribute of Yü we hear no more of it and cannot distinguish it from the *shê*.

Little is said of the *chi*; it is mentioned in the *Shu-ching* in connection with the *shê* and, like it, it goes back to the Hsia dynasty. It does not appear in the text of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, and in the commentary it is chiefly mentioned in combination, again with the *shê*, to express the general worship in states other than Lu; it is to be differentiated, and we find that in Ch'i there was an altar of the name in or near to the capital.§

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* T—843a. It is said that there was one altar to about every twenty-five families. (R—IV, i. (ii.) 7). Chuangtzŭ (Legge's translation in *Sacred Books of the East*, p. 217) speaks of an oak of such vast size that it was considered to be a *shê* tree, which would mean that these altars of the people were erected near to any wonderful object of nature. The *po shê* 亳社, in Lu, was a commemorative structure not used for sacrifices (S—XII, iv. 8; T—814a; 629b; on which see further down); the term *chou-shê* 周社 was used in opposition to it, meaning the real *shê* altars (T—763b).

† S—III, xxiii. 3. Yet in the *Analects* the phrase "servant of the altars of land and grain" 社稷 evidently means a royal minister, as though the king alone had the prerogative of their use (A—XVI, i. 4). The meaning of this passage has not been fully explained.

‡ H—V, i. (i.), 10.

§ T—629a.

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Its special use does not appear in our authorities, but the name and the later custom would show that it was the altar of the grain and harvest: hence its association with that of the tilled land.

The *fang* was offered to the four quarters of the compass, and in this way it was more comprehensive than the original *wang*, but we find it mentioned only in the odes of the mid-Chou, and that but seldom;* nor does it seem to be alluded to in the *Tso-chuan*, except perhaps by the sacrifices in the four villages of Sung, to which we shall shortly refer: this, together with the silence of the *Shu-ching*, points to its late introduction and strengthens the belief that in their worship the early Chinese conceived of the Earth only in its parts of hills, streams and tilled soil.

These are the sacrifices offered to the Earth in its various aspects. The evidence, by no means complete, tends to show that the earth was at first worshipped in its separate features, and only later more in its entirety, but still bounded by the confines of the states, and it was worshipped with Heaven. On the other hand the heavens, as shown in the records, were always considered as one, and there is no trace of separate heavenly bodies being regularly worshipped.† In some cases oaths were taken by the sun as well as by the heavens;‡ but amongst the many nature rites, except deprecatory sacrifices, *yung* 禜, § there was none specially to sun, moon, or stars, much less any differentiation of the aspects of the heavens, like Zeus of the bright sky and of the storm. The god of thunder was not yet born. Even in their entirety the heavens bore a less part in the rites than the earth with its hills and streams.

In the older books the only sacrifice which can have been to Heaven is the *ch'ai* 柴; it is mentioned twice, once when Shun instituted his tours of inspection, and again,

* O—II, vi. 7; III, iii. 4.

† See the passage in the *Li-chi* further on, where the sun is included in the heavens which were the main object of the sacrifice. To-day, in Central China, men may occasionally be seen to *k'ow-t'ow* and burn incense to the sun in eclipse.

‡ T—478b; 501b.

§ T—580a.

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according to the doubtful book "The Completion of the War," on the still more special occasion when King Wu overthrew the Shang dynasty.* The name means "fire-wood," but the object of the sacrifice is not stated; as both Shun and Wu however offered a *wang* at the same time, the connection of the *ch'ai* with a sacrifice to the hills and streams and the precedence given to it, suggest that it was for Heaven, for which the use of fire, not used in the other sacrifices, would be appropriate. This is the traditional view of the *ch'ai*, and is in accord with the known facts; but when it is argued that these special sacrifices to Heaven show that there were also more regular ones it must be pointed out that there is no trace of them in the early times, that even the special *ch'ai* depends upon doubtful authorities, and that if used it may with equal probability have been the beginning of a new cult not yet regularized. It will already have been noticed that when the compiler of the *Shu-ching* enumerated the sacrifices offered by Shun, though there was one to Shang-ti and one to the Earth there was none to Heaven. So also the "Speech at Kan" the earliest authentic book of the classic which is purely documentary, does indeed teach the moral government of Heaven but threatens punishment before the altar of the land.†

Later the *chiao* 郊 was associated with Heaven, but we find no indisputable record of its being used before the Chou dynasty or even at the beginning of it. The word means "suburb" or "frontier." On founding the new capital for king Wu's son as he hoped it would be, the duke of Chou offered two bulls at the *chiao* on the *ting* day in the third month; § but it is not called a *chiao* sacrifice, and the word

* H—II, i. 8; V, iii. 3. Some take T'ang's dark-coloured victim of H—II, iii. 4, to have been an offering to Heaven; it also is in a doubtful book. The passage will be referred to in the next section. According to R—IX, ii. 1, the first thing done by the Chou kings when on their tours of inspection was to offer a *ch'ai*. The statement may only be an inference from the Canon of Shun. The Annals of the dynasty show how seldom these tours were made and they give no details.

† H—III, ii. 5.

§ H—V, xii. 5. It was twenty-eight days after the full moon of the second month, that is, about the full moon of the third month.

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may not refer to an altar, but to the suburbs in contradistinction to the sacrifice offered next day in the city, and which is specifically called a *shê* sacrifice. The day, the month, and the number of victims do not conform with the *chiao* of later times either in Chou or in Lu, nor would the duke, at least not according to the fully established custom, take the place of the king in the regular *chiao* rite.* If this view of the passage,—and it appears to have been Dr. Legge's view,—be correct, there is no reference to this sacrifice in the more authentic books of the *Shu-ching*, and in the Odes there is only one doubtful reference as late as king Hsüan's reign.† If, however, the "Great Declaration" be accepted as genuine, the sacrifice was fully accepted under the Shang dynasty,‡ and the *Tso-chuan* traces it back to the Hsia;§ but it is not until we come to the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period that we can be sure of its being used.

It is in the Annals of Lu that we find the most authentic information about the *chiao*. Under the first and fourth months of sundry years there are entries that it was not offered. The hindrance in the first month is repeated injury to the successive victims that had been chosen;‖ that in the fourth month is always an adverse divination for the choice of a day;¶ on one occasion it was repeated five times and yet a favourable answer could not be obtained. It is never mentioned as being offered without difficulty in the firs

* If he was ever regent he had already resigned, and the king was certainly not an infant.

† O—III, iii. 4, 2. Other odes may have been used at the *chiao* or in the ancestral temple: it is difficult to distinguish Hou Chi as remote arcestor and as assessor to Heaven.

‡ H—V, i (iii) 3.

§ T—617 b.

‖ S—VII. iii. 1; VIII, vii. 1-4. The fourth paragraph of the latter year is clearly out of place, and should be under the first month. In the first month of two other years the victim was injured, another divined for, and the sacrifice presumably offered: (S—XI, xv. 3; XII i. 3).

¶ S—V, xxxi. 3-5; VIII, x. 2; IX, vii. 2; xi 2. The phrase is "divined about the *chiao*," but in two of the years the text adds that the divination being adverse the victim was let go, and so it must have been for the choice of a day: when in the first month another victim had to be chosen the text says specifically "divined for a bull."

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month, but is so mentioned in the fourth month,* and once again in the ninth.† Under the safe rule that the classic does not record routine ceremonies but only those which were in some way noteworthy, it stands out clearly that the *chiao* was properly offered in the first month and probably only then. The first mention of it in this month is in the year 606 B.C.; from that time onward the solstice was commonly in the first month, and we therefore cannot learn from the classic whether it was the solstice or the beginning of the calendar year which fixed the time of offering in that month: it is unfortunate that no mice gnawed the horns of the victim in the early years of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* when the solstice was still in the old year. Neither the cycle day nor divination for the day is mentioned in the first month; it may have been fixed by rule and no choice allowed. The *Li-chi* states that it was the *hsin* after the solstice, and we shall see that when the day of the sacrifice in the fourth and ninth months is given it was always a *hsin* day. The victim was a single bull chosen by divination.

On both occasions in the first month and once in the fourth when the sacrifice had to be abandoned, the *wang* was still offered; the notice of it is held to mark an irregularity shewing that the lesser rite should not have been observed without the principal;‡ but this opinion may be doubted: the *wang* was only ancillary when offered with the *chiao*; by itself it was a complete sacrifice and might be offered without the other; still the occasion would be unusual, and it was quite proper to record it. On the other hand, when the *chiao* is said to have been offered there is no mention of the *wang*; this use of the *wang* was a part of the *chiao*, which was not complete without it. When Shun and Wu offered their *ch'ai* sacrifices the *wang* is also mentioned: at that time it had not become an integral part of *ch'ai* as later it was of the *chiao*.

In the fourth month the *chiao* is once said to have been offered apparently without difficulty and according to the

* S—XII, i. 4.
† S—VIII, xvii. 6.
‡ T—293a.

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rule of the classic; it was therefore unusual; but there were repeated attempts to hold it in this month, always, (except that once), baulked by the inability to choose a day, and on one occasion divination was repeated five times but still a suitable day could not be had. The day, then, was not fixed, as it probably was in the first month, but, when named, it was a *hsin* day, of which there were two and generally three in every month, so that divination may have been for one of these. Tso-shih says that this spring *chiao* was offered to Hou Chi 后稷, the Father of Husbandry, and should have been at the season of the "coming of insects before the spring ploughing."* His statement must be accepted for the custom of his own time. The coming of the insects before the ploughing is explained to mean the third month, which at that time would generally be in February, just at the ancient season for the New Year, and the fourth month was irregular because too late for the ploughing. So far the explanation holds, because divination five times for a *hsin* day might overflow from the previous month. But if the sacrifice were properly held in the third month we should expect the classic to record the failure just as it did in the first month; again, according to this view, the diviners failed or refused to choose a day in the third month. Sticklers for rule might find means to hinder a sacrifice in an improper month,† but why in the proper month? There were certain days available and divination had simply to choose between them, where accident could not happen as it might in the choice of a victim. There attaches then some uncertainty concerning the propriety of this spring *chiao* in Lu, and we can only say that it was sufficiently established, probably for the third month, to satisfy Tso-shih. The difficulty was only in the day, which, as we have seen, points to there having been a degree of choice not allowed in the great solstitial sacrifice. There was no difficulty in the choice of a victim; perhaps here the rule was still less rigid.

*T—431 a.

†A prominent statesmen of Lu found his belief in divination confirmed by its refusal to sanction a *chiao* sacrifice in the fourth month. The diviners knew their business.

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In the winter sacrifice the ritual, as we see from the *Li-chi*, was strict; several perfect animals were stalled for three months and one of them chosen by divination, so that if all were injured the rite could not be held. If in the spring this ritual were not required, any perfect bull would suffice and could always be procured; so that both in the day and the victim the rules for the spring rite appear to have been less strict than for the winter, and this may point to its having been a more recent as it was a less important sacrifice. Why then was it introduced? The greater sacrifice was in the first month: if it was always so, and we do not know that it was not, in early times it would be offered just before the spring ploughing. But the year was gradually begun earlier, through insufficient intercalation; for some time the sacrifice might follow it until, say, it came to the solstice; as the solstice was known to be the turn of the solar year the sacrifice, now almost dissociated from the spring ploughing, might acquire a new significance and become connected with the beginning of the longer days. But then how about the spring ploughing? and if the sacrifice were put back to the spring, how about the solstice which had, perhaps for generations, been associated with it? It is conceivable that in some such way a second *chiao* may have come into existence, and it is worthy of note that the first mention of the *chiao* in the fourth month is in the year B.C. 629, soon after the solstice began to be regularly in the new year. The shifting of the calendar could not but raise difficulties for those rites which were connected with agriculture and fixed to one month.

Our authorities are silent about the sacrifice in the ninth month except that the notice of it shows that it was in some way irregular; it too was on a *hsin* day.

Lu is the only feudal state in which *chiao* is known to have been offered:* in the other states when sacrifices are mentioned generally it is not the *chiao* and the *wang* but the

* R. has it that it was offered in Chi 杞, with the Hsia rites, and in Sung with the Yin rites (R—VIII, ii. 1) but there is no confirmation of the statement: it is probably merely an amplification of A—III, ix. In T—810b, *chiao* refers merely to the suburb of the capital of Ch'u.

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shê and *chi*.* Though there is no classical proof of the fact, the Lu sacrifice, peculiar as it was to one feudal state, was probably by special grant from the crown; had it been altogether usurped by a second-rate state like Lu, it would have been usurped also by the ambitious larger states. Tradition has it that the privilege was granted with the original patent instituting the marquisate. According to the Bamboo Annalist, marquis Hui begged permission from king P'ing to use "the rites of the *chiao* and of the ancestral temple," but was refused: as the Lu chronicles begin only five years later and do not mention any subsequent grant of the permission, if it was given it must have been during that short interval whilst king P'ing was still alive; this is improbable; the emphasis in the phrase of the Bamboo Annals then should be on the word "rites" and not on "*chiao*," and the grant previously made had not allowed the full royal ceremony.

The above is about all that we can glean from the *Ch'un-chiu* and its great commentary concerning the *chiao*; it refers only to Lu and we have to be content with the later authorities of the *Chou-li* and *Li-chi* for any knowledge of the royal sacrifices. An abstract of the account in the *Li-chi*† will be interesting.

In the *chiao* sacrifice, we are told, they welcomed the coming of the long days; it was a great thanksgiving to Heaven and the sun was its principal object. The victim was a steer to exemplify their sincerity; it was of the dynastic red colour; the one intended for Shang-ti was required to be kept in a clean stall for three months; there was another victim for Hou Chi; should anything infelicitous occur to the one for Shang-ti it was used for Hou Chi; this latter was still required to be perfect in all its parts. The sacrifice was on a *hsin* day; when first offered by the Chou dynasty it

* T—659b. In Chêng, 926b, 454a; in Chin, 491a; in Ch'i, 346, 588b; in Ch'u, 458a, 722a; in Sung, 13b, 711b; in T'sao, 398b; in Wei, 465a, 798a; in Wu, 722a. So usual is the phrase that it is applied once to Lu, 261a.

† R—IX, ii. 2-8.

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was at the solstice.* In divining,† the tortoise-shell was operated upon at the shrine of the High Ancestor and the king received the answer at the shrine of his father; he then stood by the lake‡ and heard the result announced publicly, thereby showing how to receive instruction; he then issued the prepared orders for the ceremony in the Ancestral temple to the officers of the royal clan, and at the gate of the palace to the others. The place of sacrifice was in the south suburb, most open to brightness and warmth; on the day of its celebration the people, without being commanded, swept and watered the road and turned it up afresh with the spade; they kept torches burning in the neighbouring fields;§ those who were in mourning put off their sackcloth and refrained from wailing. Meanwhile the king in his ordinary skin cap was waiting for intimation that all was ready; he then put on his robe emblazoned with ascending dragons and his state hat with twelve pendants of jade pearls, the number of Heaven. He rode in a plain carriage because of its simplicity; from his flag there hung twelve streamers and on it were figured dragons, the sun and moon. The sacrifice was offered on the ground which had been swept to mark the simplicity of the ceremony, the vessels were of earthenware and gourds to symbolize the productions of Heaven and Earth. All things originate with Heaven, and man with his great ancestor: this is why Hou Chi is associated with Shang-ti; in the *chiao* there are gratitude to their origin and remembrance of their beginning. The *Li-chi* admits in another place that improprieties had crept into the *chiao* rites of Lu,‖ but in the passage which we have summarized it describes the royal ceremony without respect to time; what it says therefore can be applied with certainty only to the time of composition, which probably at

* H. nowhere says that king Wu offered a *chiao*: after the battle of Mu he offered a *ch'ai* and a *wang* on a *kéng* day, the next being a *hsin*.

† The day being fixed on the solstitial *hsin* day; divination here, as in S, would be for the victim.

‡ Probably in the college ground.

§ It was in the early morning.

‖ R—VII, ii. 1.

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the earliest was not much before the close of the dynasty: * and we may take it that then Shang-ti was associated with the great royal sacrifice at the solstice. † If there is anything certain about the underlying idea in the *chiao* it is that it was some form of Nature worship. As far as is known, there was no regular worship of Heaven before it, but on special occasions a burnt-offering was offered along with a sacrifice to Earth in the form of the *wang*: and in Lu the *chiao* was associated with the *wang* but took precedence of it. The conclusion seems to be almost inevitable that the fundamental idea of the *chiao* was the worship of Heaven. Shang-ti at a very early time became almost a synonym for Heaven in its moral government, and naturally was associated with its worship, but originally the *chiao* was offered to the visible heavens as its ancillary was offered to the visible earth.

The *Li-chi* does not very clearly distinguish between the principal sacrifice to Shang-ti and the subsidiary one to Hou Chi; that they were two combined sacrifices and not genuinely one, may be inferred from the analogy of Lu, but that the worship of Hou Chi was the original purpose of this part of the sacrifice cannot be assumed any more than that Shang-ti was the original purpose of the principal part of it: it was some form of worship of the earth, and remembering the custom in Lu and the early connection between the *ch'ai* and the *wang*, this latter may have been the ancillary also to the royal *chiao*, but there seems to be no direct evidence of it, and in truth Hou Chi had little to do with the worship of hills and streams; ‡ he was connected rather with

* This ninth book of the *Li-chi* is held to be a continuation of the preceding ones, which are imbued with Taoistic ideas and adopt such late theories as the *yin* and *yang* and the *t'ai-i*.

† Another writer in the *Li-chi* connects Shang-ti also with the Lu rite (R—XVIII, ii. (ii.) 24); the statement is attributed to Mêng Hsien-tzŭ 孟獻子, of Lu, who used it to justify a proposed innovation in the Ancestral temple; it was he who, Tso-shih says, found confirmation of his trust in divination because it prohibited the *chiao* sacrifice in the fourth month (T—431, a). In the *Tso-chuan* he is a legalist, in the *Li-chi* an innovator.

‡ When, according to the *Tso-chuan*, Hou Chi was the principal in the spring *chiao* sacrifice of Lu, the *wang* was still the ancillary sacrifice: and Hou Chi was not connected directly with it.

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the *shê*; and a passage in the Doctrine of the Mean says that by the *chiao* and *shê* the early Chou Kings served Shang-ti.* We must leave it at this, with the suspicion that there was some difference between the royal and the Lu solstitial sacrifices which marquis Hui worked to have removed.

When early authorities give so little information it may be thought futile to discuss the *chiao* in such detail; but the importance of the sacrifice to the Nature worship of the early Chinese and to the evolution of the modern Imperial worship demands a statement of all that is known, and excuses some tentative suggestions for further investigation.

Seasonal worship of nature did not stop with the solstice and the coming of spring: the lesser divisions of the year were observed regularly in worship; the beginning of every month, including the intercalary, was solemnly "announced" and a sheep offered. †

All these sacrifices to Nature were in the open air. Victims were slain; their number, being fixed by rule, was not dependent upon the zeal of the offerer. We have seen that in the great solstitial *chiao* only one bull was used. The Greek hecatomb was abhorrent to the Chinese mind; only once do we read of any occurrence of the kind; when, in the semi-barbarous Ch'in, the earl offered 300 bullocks at the great altar of Fu 鄜 in B.C. 677.‡ There were altars with a tablet upon them;§ but no temple; the only building was one for the convenience of the prince.‖ So too there was no separate class of priests; the ruler himself was the priest: others were subordinate, as the prayer master, probably a department of the Recorder Office, and the astrologer; the master of ceremonies would have to do with the rites, but the most important were the diviners, the only real officers of religion, learned in the Book of Changes. All these however,

* D—XIX, 6.

† A—III, xvii; cf. S—VI, vi. 8.

‡ SM—Vol II, p. 23.

§ T—515b: where it says that the marquis of Ch'en, "hugging the *shê*," went to meet his conqueror; this would mean that he carried the tablet of the *shê* altar as a sign of the submission of his state.

‖ Cf. T—814b.

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except the master of ceremonies, who belonged to the palace, were really officers of the Ancestral temple.

The idea of nature being more or less independent in all its aspects, an idea which was embodied in the great sacrifices, would be fruitful of many lesser rites; so we have the *pa*, 軷 and *tsu*, 酢, offered to the Road;* the *po*, 伯, to horses or hunting;† the *no*, 儺, to remove pestilence‡ and the *ma*, 禡, to the more abstract War,§ where all three characters are used as neuter verbs and do not imply a personal spirit any more than does the use of a charm. None of them are described and they were more or less special in their use. But there is one regular sacrifice not mentioned in the older books, only in the *Li-chi;* as however it soon afterward became obsolete it was probably a survival from the times which we are reviewing. It was *cha*, 蜡 or 祭; there were eight in the year, the great one being at the close of the year, when the people brought products of the harvest, did honour to the former husbandmen, gave offerings to the Superintendent of Husbandry, to the buildings and boundaries of the fields, and "received" the cat and the tiger, giving them offerings because they killed the field mouse and the wild boar. Such a varied festival, with men got up as wild beasts, may easily have become a Saturnalia, and a disciple of Confucius after seeing it is said to have thought the people mad.¶

Besides these recognized sacrifices there were others offered by individuals to strange objects. They were illicit and in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period were regarded by the best thinkers as being essentially immoral; nevertheless they were widely used by the highest in the land; those which Tso-shih mentions appear to have been introduced into his work for the purpose of quoting the remarks which they called forth and not because they were unusual. The duke of Sung enter-

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* O—III, ii. 1; iii. 6-7; cf. T—616b.

† O—III, ii. 6.

‡ A—X, x. 2

§ O—III, i. 7.

‖ R—IX ii. 9-11, 13.

¶ R—XVIII, ii. (ii.) 23; cf. VII, i. 1.

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tained the marquis of Chin and used the music of the "Mulberry Grove," the royal music of his Shang ancestors: his guest the marquis thought it unlucky and left the banquet during its performance, but notwithstanding his caution he was taken ill on the way home and the tortoise shell revealed that his illness was caused by the spirit of the Mulberry Grove; therefore it was proposed to go back to Sung to appease the deity by sacrifice; but his chief minister would not consent, saying "If there be such a spirit let it trouble those who used the music."* Confucius said that Tsang Wên-chung, 臧文仲, by sacrificing to a strange bird, showed his want of knowledge.† When portents appeared the certainty which was foreshadowed might, it was thought, sometimes be averted by sacrifice: so when a comet alarmed the people of Ch'i, marquis Ching was only prevented from sacrificing to it by the philosopher-statesman Yen-tzŭ, 晏子; "It is of no use" he said; "you will but practice a delusion; Heaven does not waver in its purpose; if there be a broom-star in the sky, it is for the removal of dirt."‡ On the occasion of a great flood in Ch'êng, dragons were seen fighting together and the people wished to sacrifice to them, but Tzŭ-ch'an 子產 said "When men fight, dragons pay no heed: why should we heed them? If we want nothing from them they will want nothing from us."§ Once when king Chao of Ch'u was ill, a cloud like a flock of red birds was seen round the sun for three days, and the astrologer said that it foreboded a fatal result but that by a deprecatory sacrifice the evil might be diverted to one of his ministers: the king refused to save his life on these terms and so died.‖

These deprecatory sacrifices, called *jang*, 禳 and *yung*, 禁, were not to spirits purely evil; they were offered to the Yellow River, the great object of worship in Chin; the theory seems to have been that they were for the Director of the element

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* T—446.
† T—234b.
‡ T—718a.
§ T—675b.
‖ T—810b.

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concerned; it was so on the occasion of a fire in Sung and Chêng.*

The reader of the *Tso-chuan* may be surprised to find that though demons and evil spirits were accepted, they were not worshipped by the class of people who appear in its pages.† A passage in an ode of king Hsüan's time, full of metaphors, and to be quoted when we come to speak of Shang-ti, describes the ravages of the "demon of drought" but does not say that he was worshipped; and when the sun was "eaten" in eclipse the demon was not bribed by sacrifice but, as he still is, frightened by the beating of drums.‡ It may have been different with the vulgar; though even in the *cha*, reverence was not done to the wild boar and the field mouse which destroyed the crops, but to the tiger and cat which helped to preserve them.

Thus far we have met with no personal names of spiritual beings except ancestors. The sacrifices were offered to the hills, the soil and the road as themselves spiritual. In the Preface to the *Shu-ching* there is a passage that T'ang the Successful "wished to change the *shê* but it could not be done;"§ if such be the historical fact it seems to imply a personality in the *shê*. But it is not until the mid-Chou times that we find any natural object, except perhaps Heaven, or any human art to be distinctly personified. The Father of Husbandry, 田祖 in two late odes is the earliest:‖ and in king Hsüan's drought ode Hou Chi is spoken of apparently as the Father of Husbandry.¶ In *Ch'un-ch'iu* times his cult was established. His date as a man was supposed to be known, and since the spiritual office was necessary to the success of husbandry, other holders of it had to be postulated before him, and Tso-shih affirms that there

* T—671a.

† Cf. T—293b, 625b.

‡ H—III, iv. 4.

§ H—Pref. 13.

‖ O—II, vi. 7, 8.

¶ O—III, iii. 4, Probably Ode—III, ii. 1, praises him as Father of Husbandry but it is of uncertain date. The other odes to Hou Chi are from the Ancestral temple.

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were such.* In the same passage he explains the necessity of these Directorships by the theory that though man is dependent upon nature, nature cannot fully use its inherent powers without the co-operation of man. He answered the question why dragons could not be caught alive; it was not because they are more knowing than other animals but because all creatures must have their own officers, and if neglected they lie concealed; in this way, he says, there anciently were officers of the Five Elements who were made dukes of the highest grade and (after death) were sacrificed to as spirits of the altars of land and grain: but in his day there was no officer of water, and therefore dragons, belonging to that element, did not appear and could not be caught.† He gives the names of the five ancient Directors under the emperor Yü. The idea is not worked out fully, but it seems to be that the directorship of the elements lay in the family with the high ancestor as the head, but that the fulfilment of its duties by the living descendant was also necessary to its continuance; so the spiritual directorship was liable to decay, and in this way, either by neglect or by the extinction of the family, the directorship of water was in abeyance.

It appears from this that although Tso-shih affirms that anciently there was a Director of water there was none in his own time,‡ and that the other four were not commonly known even to the official class; this tends to show that personal gods were not fully established. Tso-shih's religion accepted most of the superstitions of the age, and here he is trying to give them consistency. Personification of the aspects of nature probably began with the people and, as would be expected, the Father of Agriculture was the first; but the Directors of the elements were the creation of the schools; that of fire grew out of the fire on the hearth and was at first confined to the homes.§ The process was extended to other

* T—731b, one Hou T'u 后土: he and Hou Chi are still worshipped all over the country districts: the first of the gods and their shrines the most numerous in China.

† Ibid.

‡ Cf. T—671b; where there appears to have been one in Chêng.

§ T—439b.

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aspects of nature. In Chin the river Fên was worshipped in the *wang* sacrifice; the spirit presiding over it was carried back to the legendary emperors, and was said to reside in a certain star and not in the river; but neither the marquis nor the historiographers of Chin knew about the mythology of the Fên nor of the star presiding over the State until instructed by the learning of Tzŭ-ch'an from Chêng.* In this teaching of the schools the old naturalistic idea of the streams being themselves living and potent is abandoned.

The Preface to the *Shu-ching*, of about Tso-shih's time, recognized the possibility of changing the gods and appeared to expect it with a new dynasty, but admitted that it was not done by the Shang dynasty. Now, however, when supposed historical human beings were deified, the theory became a necessity; but it exposed the new spiritual Directors to a charge of usurpation, which may have been felt by Mencius when he explained that the old ones were changed when things in their department went wrong.†

There are two entries in the Lu Annals which bear upon the evolution of personal deities. Under the year B.C. 585 we find that a shrine was erected to a former marquis who had been dead for some two and a half centuries and whose sacrifices in the regular course would have long been discontinued: Tso-shih says that it was because of the great victory recently won over Lu's powerful enemy Ch'i: this and the fact that his posthumous title was 'Martial' suggest that he was deified as god of War in Lu: indeed the phrase in the text may be translated "we instituted a temple of War.‡" Seventy years later the shrine of another marquis of still older date was re-erected and his name, 'the Ardent,' suggests that he was made god of Fire.§ The former at least was not an instance of changing the god after Mencius' principle, for things had gone well with the state arms: although there had long been a sacrifice to War in the abstract when armies were in motion, there probably was no god of War during

* T—580a.
† M—VIIb, xiv.
‡ S—VIII, vi. 2: Cf. T—360a.
§ S—XI, i. 5

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peace in Lu before B.C. 585. Also when a great fire broke out in Sung in B.C. 564 "the headmen of the four village districts were ordered to sacrifice, the officer of prayer in the Ancestral temple was ordered to offer horses on the four battlements, and to sacrifice to P'an Kêng 盤庚 their ancestor of many centuries ago, outside the west gate.*" Here three separate sacrifices were offered: that by the headman was probably the *fang*, that of horses would be to the City or to War; only the one outside the gate has a personal object. P'an Kêng may have been the god of fire in Sung; we might have thought him to be more suitably worshipped in time of flood, but "water extinguishes fire." If these instances in Lu and Sung be accepted for departmental gods, they show that each state had its own. Tso-shih's Directors of the Elements were dynastic and do not exclude local deities of the feudal states.

As far then as we can find from our records, these professional gods were all deified ancestors of ruling houses; in Lu the shrines to them were still connected with the Ancestral temple and Hou Chi had his permanent place in the royal temple. By the creation of personal gods Nature worship began to be dominated by Ancestral worship. The process was natural enough if the personification of the Elements were a recent process; even in Tso-shih's time the number of personal gods was few compared with what might be expected in an old polytheism, and it is doubtful whether some of them were fully established even then, the only certain one being Hou Chi. But there may have been other illicit spirits worshipped by name privately: marquis Yin of Lu, when a young man at the opening of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period, had been made a prisoner and prayed to Chung-wu 鍾巫, whose shrine was in his gaoler's house; after his release he set up one of his own to this spirit or person in the enclosure of the *shê* altar and worshipped every year in the eleventh month:† this is the only irregular spirit which has a name, if indeed it be a name. It was probably referring to such cases and, by implication, to the Directors of the

* T—439b.

† T—34b.

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Elements, that Confucius called it "servile" to sacrifice to another man's dead.*

We cannot leave the subject of Chinese nature rites without considering human sacrifices. The *Shu-ching* and *Shih-ching* make no suggestion of such a custom, but the Annals of Lu give two instances of it, one in B.C. 641 from Chu, 邾 and the other in B.C. 531 from Ch'u.† To these the *Tso-chuan* adds a third occurring in Lu, B.C. 532, when, after a victory, Chi-sun I-ju 季孫意如 offered some of the prisoners in sacrifice at the *shê* altar of Po.‡ The victims in Chu and Ch'u were both rulers of states, the latter, like those in Lu, a prisoner of war; they were more judicial or political executions, like T'ang's threat to put the disobedient to death before the *shê* altar, than religious rites; and Tso-shih says that I-ju's act was the first of the kind which had occurred in Lu. Although it was meant to emphasize the military prowess of the state, the historiographer refused to stigmatize his country by recording it in the official chronicle, and he was possibly not the only official who resisted the innovation, for the rite was not performed at a regular altar. There were however other occasions more strictly attaching to Nature worship in which human beings might be offered, and we find that the burning of witches or emaciated persons is spoken of by Tso-shih as though it were a popular remedy for drought in the time of the marquis Hsi: but it is not called a sacrifice and on that occasion was not actually done. §

Chuang-tzŭ, quoting from an old book, says that bulls with white cheeks, pigs with long snouts and men suffering from piles were not sacrificed to the Ho. ‖

All these rites, numerous as they were, still do not show the full extent of the hold which Naturalism had upon Chinese thought. The law of nature applies everywhere: it

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* A—II, xxiv.; cf. T—157a.

† S—V, xix. 4; X, xi. 9.

‡ T—629b.

§ T—180a; cf. R—II, ii. (iii.) 29: here the victim was exposed to the sun.

‖ *Sacred Books of the East*:, vol. xxxix, p. 220. Prof. Giles omits the word which makes it a quotation but still translates in the past tense.

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gives the five material elements which, manifested in man, became the five tastes, colours and musical notes*; when there is excess of any of them there is confusion and men lose their proper nature which the five relationships are framed to support; the social grades and ceremonies were all supposed to be based upon the law of nature; also occupations and trades were influenced by some aspect of Nature in beast or bird.† When bad government prevailed in the neglect of the fundamental proprieties, not only was man thrown into confusion but the elements themselves were out of gear; the beasts and vegetation of the earth were disturbed and wandered from their proper course. This teaching runs all through the *Shu-ching*, and it was the essential function of a ruler to observe the first signs of want of harmony between man and nature, so that early steps might be taken to correct it; for this purpose he ascended his observatory on the first day of the new year and at the beginning of every season to note the appearance of the sky and to make prognostications.‡ Eclipses, especially when not at the solstice or equinox §, comets ‖, new stars and all unusual appearances gave occult warnings to the learned and brought fear to the ignorant, and deprecatory sacrifices were offered.

This primitive naturalism, giving a common life to all things, rather telluric than spiritual, and which pervades the earliest Chinese rites, is a fruitful secure of astrology, divination, geomancy and fetishism: all these were deeply impressed upon the minds of the best of the people.

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* T—708b. The pentatonic scale was adopted in order to correspond with the five elements, tastes and primary colours:—so at least says Tso-shih (cf. T—580b).

† T—667b. This may be a toteristic idea. The tale about the birth of earl Mu of Chêng gives us perhaps the only suggestion of a personal totem (T—296a). Tso-shih enlarges upon the origin of clan names (T—49b-50a) but does not allude to totemism; only four or five of the clan names in the classic might betray totems. The names of many of the barbarous tribes, as written by the Chinese, have the dog or the insect radical; but the special character used to imitate the sound would of course be chosen for them by the Chinese in contempt.

‡ T—144a, 680a. H- V, iv. 32-38.

§ T—667a, 688b, 702b; cf. 109a.

‖ T—668a.

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Astrology formed a large part of the learning of the times; it had to interpret the portents of planets and stars and it taught that all states, including distant Yüeh, were homologues of the heavenly constellations, where each had its corresponding sphere presiding over its destinies. *

Divination was practised in the Ancestral temple † by the shell of the tortoise or the stalks of the mill-foil. These two intelligences, one animal and one vegetable, were manipulated until they produced the figures whose significance is explained in the *I-ching*; it was here that trained skill was required, but its mysteries are beyond our understanding.

The more general rules for the use of divination are given in The Great Plan of the *Shu-ching*; this book, mostly very jejune, is more detailed on divination and in consequence is more interesting. Two sets of men were necessary for a proper divination, one to perform the operation and one to interpret the results. ‡ Rules are given to guide the king when in doubt; he should first consult himself, then the ministers and nobles, then the people, and lastly the shell and stalks. It then sought to give each of these indications its proper weight; when the shell and stalks both agree with the opinion of prince, noble, or people the result will be fortunate; when they are opposed to the opinion of all classes of men there will be good fortune in stillness and bad fortune in action, that is, the oracle is adverse and the proposed action should not be taken. § It follows that when shell and stalks are in agreement they carry it against all human opinion, but only for action when supported by a single class of men and against action though all classes are for it:—the converse, when human opinion is united against action and divination

* T—629a. 668b. 738b. 740a., etc.

† T—396a. See above on divination for the *chiao*.

‡ H.—V, iv. 24. This seems to be the plain meaning of the passage. The operators were regular officers, but it is not said that the interpreters were so; the Grand Diviner however would surely be one of them: they were three in number and when two agreed their interpretation was accepted.

§ Although prince, nobles and people agree, there may still attach some doubt, which will justify resort to divination.

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is for it, is not given, because the question would hardly arise. Only one rule is given when shell and stalks are opposed, and it is laid down that if the shell agree with the opinion of the prince whilst the stalks agree with that of ministers and people, internal operations will be fortunate and external unfortunate; presumably the shell being the better guide* will justify the prince in his action with regard to internal affairs, but that external affairs, such as war, being of more moment require a fuller sanction. These rules can only be understood by supposing that a plain answer, yes or no, to a precise question is sought, and not a revelation of future events; it is only to guide when there is doubt as to the proper course to be taken. This fundamental principle confined divination to present circumstances and subordinated it to the general rules of behaviour based upon wisdom and virtue; when these pointed to a course of action there should be no doubt and divination should not be allowed to intrude. Following the same principle the original *I-ching* closely limited its scope; it does not profess to foretell the future but only to advise a virtuous man when other guides fail, whether in his present circumstances he should be bold or cautious; it always presupposes virtue, and only promises that, with virtue, obedience to its indications will bring some degree of success; for it is the virtuous who shall know the will of Heaven; and king Ch'êng said that his father, the tranquillizing King, left him the great and precious tortoise to bring him into connection with the intelligence of Heaven.† At bottom it is the moral teaching of the *Shu-ching* that success can only be attained by the constant apprehension which comes from virtue. The converse, insisted upon by Mencius, that calamity is of one's own seeking and is not by decree of Heaven, is also maintained.‡ This is not fatalism; the divination of the Great Plan and the *I-ching* is a genuine naturalistic piety such as many Christians allow themselves when seeking a plain yes or no by lot.

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* Cf. T—141b.

† H—V, vii. 3.

‡ H—IV, ix, 3; x, 2; V, x, ii; xviii, 13; xxvii, 21; cf. II, iv, 11.

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This limitation of the use of divination may be set forth in treatises by the philosophers but it was far from being observed in practice; when king Wu was ill, it was thought that divination would reveal the outcome of the illness;* and the *Tso-chuan* is full of many precise prophecies made by means of divination. In his old age Confucius said that had he longer to live he would devote himself to the *I-ching*;† but divination did not form part of his teaching as described in the Analects, nor of the other great ethical teachers', and it may be doubted whether Mencius approved of it at all. This putting of the art in these later times so far into the background may have been due to the more superstitious use into which it had fallen.

The future was thought to be often revealed also by dreams.‡

Geomancy is a naturalistic idea; experience might teach that some sites were more salubrious than others, but this could not always be told without the help of divination, and, besides salubrity, good and bad fortune were connected with localities. Geomantic rules are not laid down in our authorities, but divination was commonly used in the classic in choosing abodes for living or dead.

Besides natural objects, many manufactured articles were supposed to be especially endowed with spiritual properties, and were regarded as fetishes. The most famous were the tripods of the royal house. They were said to have been cast by the Hsia dynasty out of metal from the nine provinces of Yü the Great, with representations of their natural products, thus preserving harmony between high and low and bringing blessing from Heaven upon all; they could only be moved by one destined of Heaven to rule the entire empire.§ The ancestral temples contained numerous heirlooms given by the king with the patent of nobility, and many other objects called "precious" whose value doubtless was not only

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* H—V, vi, 2.

† A—VII, xv.

‡ H—IV, viii 2-3; T—210a, 219b, 357a, 616b, 617b, 738b, 814b, etc.

§ T—293. They are not alluded to in H.

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material.* Some arrows had an efficiency greater than natural.†

Some western writers, especially those who hold the theory that the Chinese were originally monotheists; say that their religious ideas were corrupted by the fetishism of the surrounding tribes; but fetishism was innate to the Naturalism which is found in their earliest records, and was only resisted by the better thinkers. No doubt the Chinese were influenced by the barbarians, and the early annals of the more barbarous Ch'in contain more allusions to this type of belief than is found in the annals of the central states. In Ch'in strange altars appear to have been often erected;‡ and a certain object called the Pearl of Ch'ên, 陳寶 found there in B.C. 747, was considered to be of much importance.§

If the above facts of Nature worship have been placed before the reader in their proper relation, they suggest that the worship was at first essentially local, directed to the visible and permanent objects upon the surface of the earth,—hills, streams and the fruitful soil, each being thought of as in itself living and active, and worshipped separately on different occasions and in different places. The records also suggest, but less clearly, that worship of Heaven began at about the Chou dynasty and was combined with that of the hills and streams as one rite to Nature in her entirety; but before this unifying principle found expression in the rites, it had already been taught in the speeches and documents of the *Shu-ching*; it was the product of philosophy, but never wholly won popular acceptance because of the polytheism which grew up by its side, multiplying the rites to local and departmental spirits. The rites and popular polytheism, recognizing many spiritual agencies which affect men, distinguish and divide; whereas the philosophy unifies and simplifies; it teaches that man's happiness depends solely upon the favour of Heaven. Heaven is supreme and all-controlling; its potency is universal; besides giving nutritive power to the grain and regulating the

* See those of the royal house, H—V, xxii, 19.
† T 297a.
‡ SM—Vol. II, pp. 15, 16, 24.
§ SM—Vol. II, p. 17.

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succession of the seasons, it gives man his nature and causes the rise and fall of dynasties; it knows man and is the judge of men; the judgements are moral and are not to be averted by sacrifice, and its favour can only be secured by living in harmony with its laws. The warning resounds like an iron clang all through the speeches and documents of the *Shu-ching* that no one, whatever his position, should think himself the favourite of Heaven allowed to follow his own will safe from punishment. Though not theological, this conception of Heaven is essentially religious, and the speeches are pervaded with the simple faith of natural piety.

Many have deduced from this that the term "Heaven," especially when connected with the more personal Shang-ti, is one with the Christian "Providence": but have they sufficiently realized the possibilities of Naturalism? Allow that in all things, including the Soul of man, there is one common life potent and all-pervading, which though it may have an individual manifestation or to be present locally with augmented energy, can never be wholly severed from the Common Source, and is so far sentient as to resent any want of harmony with itself; then we have a religion which teaches that Society is a phenomenon of Nature and that morality is the living in harmony with its laws. What more do we find in the "Heaven" of these books? Classical Chinese indeed has no word for Nature except "Heaven," and were it not so closely associated with Shang-ti, probably no one, uninfluenced by theological propagandism, would take Heaven in these passages to mean anything more than Nature. It is a conception of the educated, formed while the rites were still local and concerned mostly with terrestrial objects. In the thoughts of these men supra-terrestrial influences may have been prominent from the first and would become predominant, still they were not spiritual in a theological but only in a naturalistic sense as the occult powers of living matter.

Such an expression as "the Mind of Heaven," which is very common, can be readily used with this naturalistic meaning; there are some others which could indeed be translated so as to imply personality, but they are few and may all be taken in other and better meanings:* nor do we find those

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unambiguous expressions of personal spirits in hills and streams which later became so common in the *Tso-chuan*. The term "Son of Heaven" is purely metaphorical and never refers to a heavenly personage or even to deceased emperors, but to the present living ruler.†

This naturalistic idea, confined principally to the powers of the Earth, explains a want which has often been noticed. There is no mention of the beginning of things. Only once perhaps is the formation of a natural object, a hill,‡ alluded to, and the agent is Heaven or Nature. Several passages speak of the "birth" of the people and the "gift" of their moral being; the birth is always from Heaven§ and the moral being is only once said to be from Shang-ti.‖ Nowhere in the records is there a suggestion of such a mythology as that of P'an-Ku and his chisel, or a hint that the heavens and earth are other than eternal.

[To be continued.]

* H—IV, 2; V, xviii. 9; IV, iii. 4.

† H—V, iv. 16; O—III, iii. 8, 5, 6, cf. IV, i. (i.) 8. In O—V, iii. 3, 2 "the King ordered the expedition to help the Son of Heaven" is explained by the similar tautology of the preceding stanza the "King ordered the expedition to deliver the royal Kingdom."

‡ O—IV, i. (i.) 6.

§ H—IV, iv. 1; V, i. (i.) 3; iv. 2; ix. 16. O—III, 1, 6; II, v. 3 (stz. 3), 4; I, iv. 1 (stz. 1).

‖ H—IV, vii. (iii.) 6.

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L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT ET SA BIBLIOTHÈQUE

BY

PROFESSOR N. PERI

C'est en 1898 que M. Paul Doumer, Gouverneur général de l'Indochine française, décida de fonder une institution destinée à l'étude archéologique de ces régions. L'arrêté du 15 décembre de cette année qui la créait, lui donnait le nom de "Mission archéologique permanente de l'Indo-Chine," et la plaçait sous le controle scientifique de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Il determinait en même temps son but et l'objet de ses études: c'était d'abord de travailler à l'exploration archéologique et philologique de la presqu'île indo-chinoise, de faire connaitre son histoire, ses monuments, ses langues, etc.; et ensuite de contribuer à l'étude érudite des régions et des civilisations voisines, Inde, Chine, Malaisie, etc. On le voit, ce but était des plus vastes. Par suite de leur situation géographique à l'extrême pointe du grand continent asiatique, les régions englobées sous le nom général d'Indochine, d'une part renferment une très grande variété de races, et par conséquent d'idiomes et de coutumes, apport de vagues successives d'immigrations venues de différentes directions; et d'autre part, elles ont reçu très profondément l'influence des deux plus grandes civilisations

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d'Extrême-Orient, celle de l'Inde dans leurs parties occidentales et méridionales, celle de la Chine dans leurs parties orientales et septentrionales. L'étude de l'Indochine doit donc s'appuyer sur l'étude préalable de l'Inde et de la Chine, celle-ci entrainant celle du Japon qui l'éclaire souvent, surtout au point de vue religieux et artistique.

Dans ces conditions, on se rend compte de l'immensité du programme tracé à l'activité de la Mission archéologique. Elle devait donner ses premiers soins à la formation d'une bibliothèque et d'un musée, et entreprendre des publications faisant connaitre les résultats de ses travaux.

Le personnal prévu pour assurer l'exécution de ce vaste programme n'était pas très considérable. Il se composait d'un Directeur nommé pour six ans, de répétiteurs qui furent dans la suite remplacés par des "professeurs" ou membres permanents, et dépensionnaires ou membres temporaires; tous pouvaient recevoir des missions d'études, tant en Indochine qu'à l'étranger. Tous les frais de quelque nature qu'ils fussent, étaient à la charge du budget de l'Indochine française.

Le premier directeur et fondateur fut M. Louis Finot, ancien élève de l'Ecole des Chartes et indianiste distingué. Il fut remplacé par M. A. Foucher, indianiste également, dont on connait les belles études d'archéologie et d'iconographie bouddhiques, auquel succéda M. Cl. E. Maitre, japonisant, qui exerce ces fonctions depuis bientôt douze ans.

Il apparut bientôt que le programme tracé à la nouvelle institution et les multiples sujets d'études qui s'offraient à son activité débordaient singulièrement le nom de Mission archéologique qui lui avait donné tout d'abord. Il fut changé le 20 janvier 1900 en celui d'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, modelé sur celui que portent les instituts français placés sous le contrôle de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres à Rome, à Athènes et au Caire. Etablie d'abord à Saigon l'Ecole fut transférée à Hanoi lorsque cette ville devint la capitale officielle de l'Indochine française et que tous les services généraux du Gouvernement y furent transportés.

Un de ses premiers travaux fut le relevé et le classement des anciens monuments, pour la plupart inconnus jusqu'alors,

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qui parsèment le sol de l'Indochine. Entre temps elle réunissait les premiers éléments de sa bibliothèque et de son musée. Dès l'année 1901 commençait à paraitre son *Bulletin* qui compte aujourd'hui dix-huit ans d'existence, en même temps que voyait le jour le premier volume des grandes études formant la série de ses "Publications"; il y en a actuellement une vingtaine de parus et d'autres sont sous presse.

Dès cette époque l'Ecole avait fait preuve d'assez de vitalité et d'activité pour que le 26 février 1901 le Président de la République reconnût et assurât son existence par un décret reproduisant les termes de l'arrêté qui l'avait fondé. Le régime qu'il institua dure encore, quoique depuis lors l'Ecole ait pris des développements qu'il n'avait pas prévus et qu'il faudra sans doute un jour prochain sanctionner par un nouvel acte de l'autorité.

L'Ecole avait été installée à Hanoi dans un bâtiment assez vast où les premiers éléments de sa bibliothèque et de son musée tenaient fort à l'aise. Devant leur accroissement, il fallut d'abord en séparer le musée auquel fut affecté un bâtiment déjà historique en quelque sorte, celui qui avait été successivement la Résidence générale, puis le Gouvernement général de l'Indochine. Il parut grand tout d'abord; il est aujourd'hui insuffisant. D'autre part la place ainsi laissée libre dans le premier bâtiment fut rapidement occupée par l'accroissement de la bibliothèque pour laquelle il est à présent devenu trop étroit; des agrandissements sont à l'étude.

Un développement très marqué s'est produit dans le sens des travaux archéologiques, relevé, entretien et conservation des monuments historiques. Ils avaient été confiés d'abord à l'un des pensionnaires; à l'heure où le champ se révélait de plus en plus vaste et exigeait déjà d'autres travailleurs, le rétrocession des provinces de Battambang et de Siemréap au Cambodge par le Siam venait en accroître singulièrement l'étendue et l'importance. Les monuments d'Angkor à eux seuls réclamaient la présence et toute l'activité d'un homme. On dut y affecter un conservateur placé sous la direction du chef du Service archéologique de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-

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Orient. Celui-ci avait aussi s'occuper spécialement du "Musée de l'Indochine" que entrepris dès les premiers jours de l'Ecole, devait se scinder et comporter, outre sa section générale à Hanoi, une section spéciale khmère à Phnom-penh (Cambodge) et une section chame à Tourane (Annam). La nécessité était reconnue de donner un nouveau développement à ce service, lorsque la guerre est venue suspendre la réalisation des projets ébauchés en ce sens.

Les travaux philologiques, comprenant l'étude des langues, de l'histoire, de la littérature, des religions, etc., de l'Indochine et des pays voisins, font l'objet de l'activité des autres membres de l'Ecole. Leurs études sont publiées régulièrement dans le *Bulletin*. A la fin de l'année 1902, s'est tenu à Hanoi, sur la proposition de l'Ecole, un Congrès d'orientalistes spécialement adonnés à l'étude de l'Extréme-Orient, qui réunit un grand nombre d'adhésions flatteuses. Depuis lors, l'Ecole a eu l'honneur de voir ses travaux particulièrement appréciés et spécialement mentionnés par le XVe Congrès des Orientalistes à Copenhague, en 1908, par le Dr Aurel Stein dans le discours qu'il a prononce à Paris, le 18 mai 1909, au Comité de l'Asie française, et par la Conférence des Orientalistes tenue à Simla en 1911, dont plusieurs des membres, notamment MM. Ross, Vogel, Stein, Duroiselle, en proposèrent l'organisation comme modèle pour l'Institute Oriental dont ils demandaient la fondation à Calcutta.

La bibliothèque de l'Ecole peut être considérée comme la première d'Extrême-Orient au point de vue de ses études spéciales. Elle est divisée actuellement en quatre fonds, européen, chinois, annamite et japonais, avec une section de cartes, une de manuscrits, et une d'estampages. Au fonds européen sont rattachés un peu arbitrairement mais pour des raisons d'ordre intérieur, les ouvrages sanskrits, pâlis, etc., ainsi que la section des cartes. Un Inventaire alphabétique en trois volumes en a été publié en 1916-1917. Ce fonds compte près de 6,000 numéros de catalogue et environ 20,000 volumes. Le fonds japonais est probablement le plus important qui existe en dehors du Japon. Le fonds annamite constitué patiemment et à grands frais, compte un nombre relativement considérable de copies d'ouvrages inédits, de documents de temples, de

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villages et de familles, et une collection d'estampages approchant de 7,000 numéros. Il est absolument unique. Il compte 1,500 numéros de catalogue, non compris les ouvrages en transcription européenne.

Le fonds chinois est très important et ne peut être comparé qu'aux grandes bibliothèques de Chine ou du Japon. Il compte 2,500 numéros dont plusieurs couvrent plus de 100 fascicules chacun. Parmi ses trésors, il faut citer trois fasciculesdu célèbre *Yong lo ta lien* 永樂大典, comprenant les *kiuan* 2260-2261, 2266-2267, 2406-2409.

On y voit le *T'ou chou tsi tch'eng* 圖書集成, la collection complète des *tsong chou*, 叢書, des provinces et de beaucoup de ceux des préfectures et des sous préfectures.

Aussi les deux éditions japonaises du Tripitaka chinois, celle de Tókyó et celle de Kyóto avec son grand Supplément constituant une sorte de patrologie chinoise.

[*Voir ci-jointe une liste en chinois d'ouvrages importants ou rares qui se trouvent dans la bibliothèque.*]

* * *

L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT AND ITS LIBRARY.

(TRANSLATION OF PRECEDING ARTICLE.)

IT was in 1898 that M. Paul Doumer, Governor-General of French Indo-China, decided to establish an Institution for the archæological study of these regions. The decree dated December in that year creating the Institution gave it the name "Permanent Archæological Mission of Indo-China," and placed it for scientific matters under the control of the Academy of Inscriptions and Literature. It further fixed the aim of the Institution and the object of its studies, which was, primarily, to work at the archæological and philological exploration of the peninsula, to explain its history, monuments, languages, etc.; then to contribute to the learned studies of neighbouring regions and civilizations, India, China, Malaysia, etc. As one sees, the scope was not a small one. By reason of their geographical position at an extreme point of the continent, the regions included in the general name Indo-

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China contain a very great variety of races and consequently of speech and of customs, the deposit of a succession of immigrations from different directions; and on the other hand these regions have been strongly affected by the two greater civilizations of the Far East: in their western and southern parts by that of India, in the east and north by that of China. Researches in Indo-China must therefore be dependent on prior studies of India and of China, including in the latter the study of Japan, which often throws light on questions of religion and art.

Such being the conditions one recognizes how immense was the programme prepared for the Archæological Mission. Its first care was, of necessity, to form a library and a museum, and to undertake the publication of the results obtained by its labours.

The personnel provided to carry out this vast programme was not great in number. It consisted of a Director appointed for six years, assistant-professors, afterwards replaced by "professors" or permanent members, and pensioners or temporary members; all could receive research appointments, whether for Indo-China or abroad. All expenses of every kind were chargeable to the budget of French Indo-China.

The first Director and founder was M. Louis Finot, a former student of the Ecole des Chartes and a distinguished indianist. He was followed as Director by M. A. Foucher, also an indianist, whose brilliant studies in archæology and Buddhist iconography are well known. He was succeeded by a scholar of Japanese, M. Cl. E. Maitre, who has occupied the post for nearly twelve years.

It was soon seen that the programme traced for the new Institution, and the manifold subjects of research which offered themselves to its activity stretched far wider than the name of Archæological Mission first given to it. The name was changed on January 20, 1900, to one modelled on that borne by other French Institutions under the control of The Academy of Inscriptions and Literature, at Rome, at Athens and at Cairo: it was called L'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient. Established at Saigon in the beginning, the School was transferred to Hanoi when that place became the official

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capital of French Indo-China and when all the general government services were removed there.

One of the first works of the School was the reporting and classifying of the ancient monuments, till then mostly unknown, which were scattered throughout Indo-China. In the meantime it was getting together the beginnings of its library and museum. In 1901 appeared the first number of its *Bulletin*, which has now reached its eighteenth year of existence. The same year saw the first volume of its important studies forming the series of its "Publications": of these twenty have appeared and others are in the press.

Even that early time the School showed such vitality and activity that on February 26, 1901, the President of the Republic recognized and confirmed its existence by an enactment which repeated the terms of the original decree of its foundation. The régime which he thus established has continued to the present; but the School has had some unforeseen developments which will no doubt require to be sanctioned by a new act of authority before long.

The School was installed in Hanoi in a fairly large building where there was room enough for the beginnings of the library and the museum. As they developed it was necessary to separate them, and to the museum a building was devoted which was already somewhat historic; it had been first the Residency general, then the Government-general of Indo-China had occupied it. At first it seemed large enough; to-day it is inadequate. The other portion of the building, left free by the removal of the museum, was quickly filled by the increase of the library, for which it is now too small; an extension is being considered.

There has been a marked development in the direction of archæological work, the reporting, upkeep and preservation of historic monuments. At first these labours had been entrusted to the 'pensioners'; but while the field of operations became more and more extensive so that further workers became necessary, the retrocession of the provinces of Bettabang and Siemréap to Cambodja by Siam made a remarkable increase in the extent and importance of the work. The Angkor monuments alone demanded the presence and

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undivided activity of one man. It was necessary to appoint a guardian there under the direction of the Head of the Archæological Service of the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient; and this had also to specially occupy itself with the Indo-China Museum, an undertaking of the earliest days of the School, which had to be divided and to allow, besides its general section at Hanoi, a special Khmer section at Phnom-penh (Cambodja), and a Cham section at Tourane (Annam). The necessi' of further development of this service was recognized, when the beginning of the war hindered all further projects in this direction.

Other members of the School devote themselves to philological work, which includes the study of the languages, history, literature, religions, etc., of Indo-China and the neighbouring countries. The results of these studies are published regularly in the *Bulletin*.

At the end of 1902, at the proposition of the School, there was held at Hanoi a Congress of Orientalists specially occupied in the study of the Far East, and this brought the School a great deal of gratifying approbation. Since then the School has been honoured by the special appreciation and mention of its work by the XVth Congress of Orientalists at Copenhagen in 1908; by Dr. (Sir) Aurel Stein in his address at Paris, to the French-Asian Committee (Comité de l'Asie française), on May 18, 1909; and by the Conference of Orientalists held at Simla in 1911, when several members of the Conference, especially Messrs. Ross, Vogel, Stein and Duroiselle proposed that the organization of the School should be the model for the Oriental Institute which they were asking to have founded in Calcutta.

The Library of the School may be considered as the first in the Far East from the point of view of its special studies. It is at present divided into four departments,—European, Chinese, Annamese and Japanese, with separate sections also for maps, for manuscripts and for prints. The Sanskrit and Pali works, etc., together with the section for maps, are all relegated to the European department: this is somewhat arbitrary, but is for reasons of internal orderliness. An alphabetical Catalogue of this department in three volumes

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was issued in 1916-17; it includes 6,000 catalogue entries and about 20,000 volumes. The Japanese department is probably the most important collection of its kind outside of Japan. The Annamese department, the result of great expenditure and much patient labour, includes a comparatively large number of unpublished works, of documents concerning temples or villages or families, with a collection of nearly 7,000 prints. It is absolutely unique. Its catalogue has 1,500 entries, not counting works in European transcriptions.

The Chinese department is very important, its only rivals being the great libraries in China and Japan. It has 2,500 catalogue entries, some of which cover more than 100 fascicules each. Among its treasures there are three fascicules of the famous Yung Lo Ta Tien (chuan 2260-1, 2266-7, 2406-2409). There is also the *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng* 圖書集成 the complete collection of *Ts'ung Shu* 叢書 of the provinces with many of the prefectures and sub-prefectures. It has the two Japanese editions of the Chinese Tripitakas, that of Tokyo and that of Kyoto with its great Supplement which is a kind of Chinese patrology.

Other noteworthy Chinese works in the Library are named in the Chinese list on pages 218-219.

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帝學諭　漢滿名臣傳　粵十三家詩集等類是也餘不盡錄

本堂安南書分漢文越文二類

黎一統志　大南實錄　大南一統志　大南會典　歷朝憲章　全書　皇

漢文類書數有一千一百六十三號如　越史通鑑綱目　大越史記前列傳　大南會典　歷朝憲章　文選　國

國朝律例　明命政要　同慶地輿　芸臺類語　海上憶翁　皇越文選　國

朝文選　明命紹治嗣德詩文集　諸名人詩文集　各大家族譜記等類是也餘不盡錄

也餘不盡錄

越文類書數有二百九十三號如　大南國史演歌　嗣德字學解義　越史國

語　越音詩集　周易國語　易經解義　四書釋義

四書約解　胡尚書家禮　壽梅公家禮　各種國音經　各種國音傳　等類

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本堂中國書分大項中項小項三等

大項書有九十七號如　欽定同文韻統　滿漢蒙古西番合璧大藏全咒　金石索　貞觀政要　大明仁孝皇后勸善書　五音韻海　皇清開國方略　八旗通志　蒙古回部王公表傳　繪圖爾雅　清文鑑　等類是也餘不盡錄

中項書數有一千九百八十七號如　欽定四庫全書攷證　佩文韻府　皇清經解　通志堂經解　各省通志　叢書數十種　全唐文　全唐詩　唐宋元明各名人遺書　正續大藏經　道藏輯要　呂祖全書　全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文　文苑英華　東華全錄　大明律　大清律　平捻平回平苗各方畧　文獻通考通典　等類是也餘不盡錄

小項書數有三百八十九號如　欽定古今圖書集成　欽定二十四史　書史彙傳　四庫全書總目　淵鑑類函　叢書二十餘種　大清一統志　大清各

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NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Editor will be pleased to receive notes for these pages, or queries, or answers to queries.

With regard to the article on l'Ecole française at Hanoi (p. 209), it must obviously be given in French as written by Prof. Peri. But as it is most desirable that the School and its works should be better known to the British, and as many of our readers may not be able to read the French, the Editor has taken the unusual course of following the article with a rough translation into English: for which an apology is perhaps due both to our French readers and to our English readers who read French.

* * *

Those who remember the former *China Review* will have a pleasant renewal of excitement in seeing the following criticisms of Giles' Dictionary by Prof. Parker. The notes are given here because of their value to students of Chinese, and not in controversy. The dictionary has long ago assured its high position, and few people will trouble now as to the extent to which Giles was indebted to earlier lexicographers. But the work can be improved by criticism, which no doubt Prof. Giles himself will be grateful for; and all who own the dictionary will be glad to make some corrections and additions.

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By accident we have printed a few notes of Prof. Parker's which have already appeared in the old *China Review*. Not many of our readers would observe this, and no harm is done.

* * *

Errata. In the article by Rev. W. A. Cornaby in our last issue the following errors (for which we are to blame) should be noted.

On p. 57, line 11, for 禮 read 戲.
On p. 60, line 24, for 皂 read 皇.
On p. 61, line 1, of footnote for 鑛 read 錄.

A few of what printers term 'literals' will also be observed in the French article by Père Doré.

* * *

In our next issue we shall give some notes by Prof. Parker on chronological matters.

NOTES BY PROF. E. H. PARKER.

Williams (apparently by accident) under the character 侈 includes in the sentence the character 哆. Giles follows suit with No. 1936, but (like Williams) says nothing about it under No. 577. K'ang-hi's dictionary does not say anything about the translation given under either character. It so happens, however, that the *Shwoh-wên* has the component parts reversed, thus— 侈兮 哆兮.

* * *

Neither Giles nor Williams is correct about 班師, which simply means "withdraw the troops", whether after victory, or defeat, or from any motive whatever.

* * *

名物象數 means the lesser branch of practical knowledge, in contradistinction to the higher ethical branch 德行道藝 of "arts". Williams misprinted (and mistranslated) the first character as 各. Giles (under 4287) repeats the error, but fortunately escapes a mistranslation.

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Giles' No. 1572 "males and females" is a mistake repeated from Williams: 臣妾 is used in the sense of "your ministers," "your slaves," or "to subdue" or "treat as slaves."

* * *

An instance of Giles following Williams is that neither gives 跌 in the index or body of the work, but both give the combination 跌了一跌 under *tieh*.

* * *

Giles in his No. 7087 repeats all Williams' errors. K'ang-hi defines 荄 quite separately from 桃, and both were used to to get rid of noxious humours, as betel is used. Princes had three kinds of "carminatives" served: the 葷, the 桃, and the 荄, but persons of 大夫 rank got no 荄 whilst persons of 士 rank got no 葷 either.

* * *

One of the rare instance of a character in Giles and not in Williams is 悊; in his index Williams seems to have inadvertently omitted it, but Giles inserts it in his index between 惦 and 惧. There is also one example in 拃 'a span,' (in Peking vulgarly called *Yi la*^{3}). In Cantonese they say *nám'*, which may be connected with *la*, as it is also pronounced *lám'*. K'ang-hi reads it tsan^{3} and makes it do duty for 橏; it was used in 650 A.D. with the meaning to 'express,' as the juice of sugar, just then discovered in India.

* * *

There is also one instance in which Williams places a character in the index but Giles does not: neither places it in the text; this is 掊, which in the *Nan Shi* and other places does duty for 瓯, and means a five-pint measure.

* * *

The character 郠 is omitted both in Williams and Giles. It occurs in several histories in the sense of shops, 市 | , bazaars | 圄, etc., | 邸.

* * *

There are frequent citations of the two characters 煞糊 from the mediaeval poets. In Pekingese and Southern Mandarin the term *mohu* or *mahu* is quite colloquial, and of

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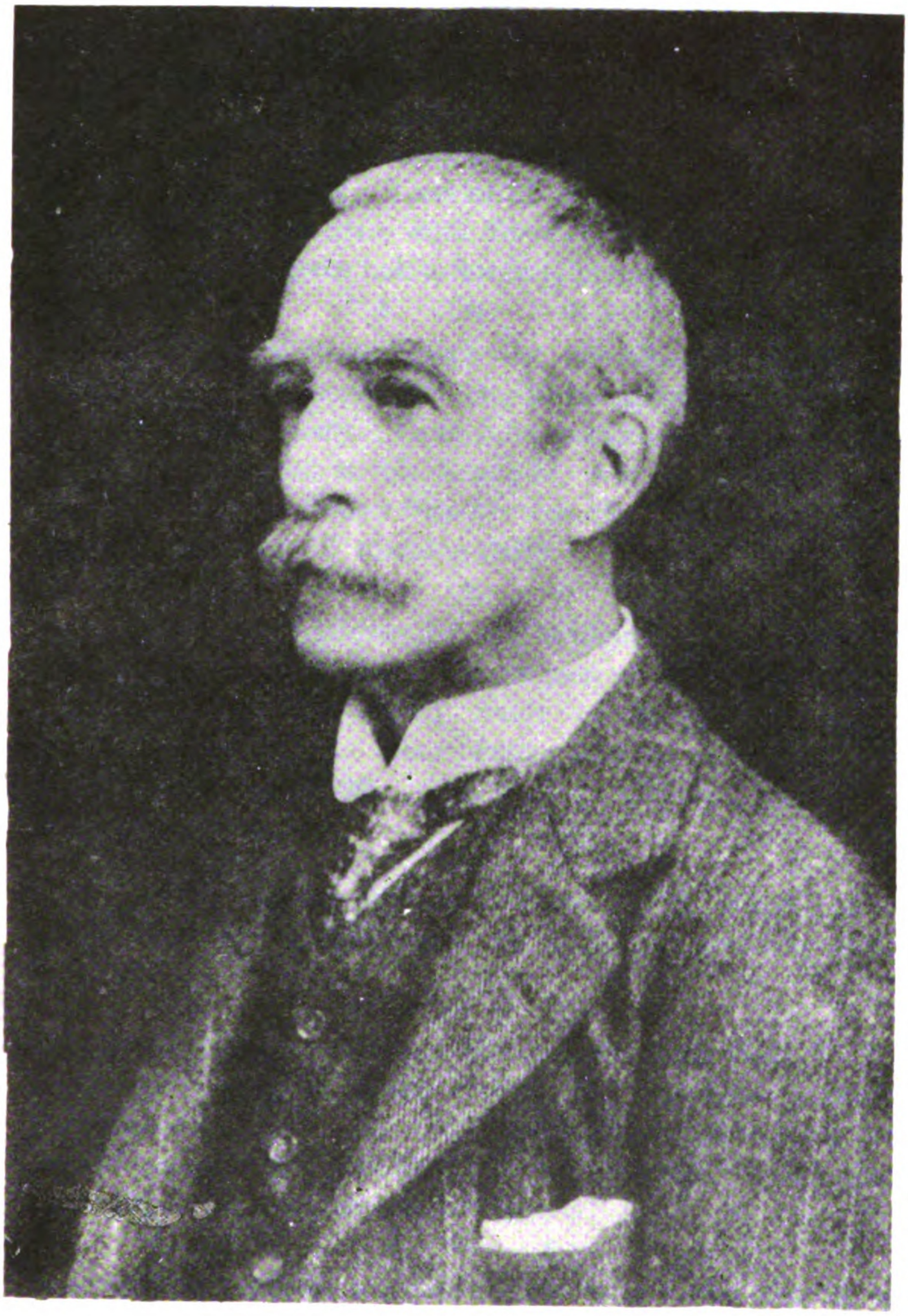

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course Wade's course gives the two characters. By some strange chance Williams omits the first character both from his index and from the body of his work, but under the second he gives the combination (of doubtful authority) 模糊. Giles in all three respects follows Williams' example.

What is still more curious is that K'ang-hi also omits 模 from the body of his dictionary and from the "Omissions" and from the Supplement. Last of all Prince Ch'un also omits the character in his little work *Errors in K'ang-hi*: and yet the *P'ei-wen Yün-fu* gives half a dozen citations!

* * *

Under 楬 Williams gives the combination 楬櫫, but omits to give the second character in his index or in any other part of his dictionary. Giles follows suit, which proves that he has not referred to his K'ang-hi, who gives the second character. The *Peking Gazette* uses the combination 〡〡歲月 in the sense of 'marking dates.'

* * *

Giles is an improvement on Williams under character 2680; but 伯魚 was only the cognomen of an eccentric who adopted the artificial family name of 第五, and whose personal name was 倫: other persons had the same cognomen (*vide* Mayers, 320, 孔鯉). The history of Ti-wu Lun is given in the *After Han Shu*.

* * *

Giles (11,894) has omitted Williams' 黔黫, which occurs in the *Wei Chi*: 多所〡〡如〇改定者 of correcting draft despatches.

* * *

Giles. (6248) has omitted the dialect sounds of 鵠. The Cantonese is *kuk*; so is the Hakka; the Foochow is *kouk*. Pekingese '*ku*' and '*hu*.' If the Foochow people used the second sounds it would be *huk*, for the "series" makes this necessary. In other matters see 梏.

* * *

Neither Williams nor Giles gives us any idea that 姜 is used in the sense of a 'houri' or beauty. The debauched monarch of the Ts'i dynasty had a guard of these Amazons—姬姜被干戈之服.

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Giles' 4010 can hardly be called (as Williams calls it) an unauthorized character, for K'ang-hi tells us all about it. The Ch'en history writes the man's name 唳, and the Sui history 璃.

* * *

In 535 B.C. the *Tso-chuan* mentions the woman 婧始, one of the wives of the Duke Siang of Wei. Williams gives this whole name under the second character, which is in the index as well, but unaccountably omits the first character both from dictionary and index. Giles follows suit in each case, without reference to original Chinese authority at all.

* * *

Giles' 4381 is inadequate; 乞骸 or 丐骨 is an expression used throughout history by sick or disgraced statesmen: "I beg my bones," *i.e.* "I beg permission to retire for the rest of my days."

* * *

Williams' example has led Giles into mistakes under 郟. In the first place Williams has accidentally omitted to put 鄏郟 into either his dictionary or his index, and accordingly Giles omits both, except, (like Williams) under 郟. In the next place, K'ang-hi distinctly tells us that it was in Ho Nan, whilst Williams and Giles both put it in Hu Peh. The error evidently arose from the fact that K'ang-hi makes a dubious allusion to 襄陽, but even then he adds that the place was under 潁川郡. Strange to say, Playfair also omits 鄏.

Dr. Berthold Laufer, in *Chinese Clay Figures*, p.156, note i, says "the alligator is now extinct in the Yangtse." This is not the case. When I was stationed at Kiukiang in 1905-9 a friend in Wuhu sent me two of these reptiles, and he possessed several himself. They are dug up by the natives during the hybernating period in the Wuhu district, and are said to exist in two or three other places on the same river. If Dr. Laufer means that the alligator has become extinct between 1909 and the date when he wrote (1914 or before), I think he would find some difficulty in proving his case.

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Since not a few references to and descriptions of these reptiles are to be found in the periodical literature on China, it might seem superfluous to make correction of Dr. Laufer's statement but for two reasons:—

1. My correction is not of the kind which merely places one authority against another. As I possessed these creatures I knew that they existed. Had I merely quoted another writer in opposition to Dr. Laufer, the question might be regarded as still open to doubt. Therefore I consider it a duty to make this note. Mr. Couling, during the compilation of his valuable *Encyclopædia Sinica*, found a large number of instances in which eminent sinologists flatly contradict each other, and I know I found the same thing during the compilation of my *Descriptive Sociology*. Amidst the cloud of contradictory witnesses the truth becomes camouflaged, though unintentionally. Sinology must be regarded as still in its teens, and it will be one of the tasks of the future to find, in an impartial manner, the right solutions of its many outstanding problems.

2. My second reason is a more general one. The alligator is an inhabitant of warm climates. Its presence in the Yangtzŭ may indicate that the Yangtzŭ region was once more tropical than it is now—a theory that may be supported also on other grounds. If that is so, it shows that the conclusion to which many would jump, namely, that as a region becomes less tropical the tropical fauna, etc., must necessarily die out or retreat towards the equator, is incorrect. That they do so generally is beyond question, but that they must necessarily do so is disproved by what happened in the case of the Chinese alligator. As the climate grew colder and the winters less tolerable, instinct prompted it to seek cover. It then did a very wonderful thing. When the cold season approached, it burrowed in the broad stretches of mud left on the borders of the river by the receding water, and constructed a subterranean tunnel of semicircular form, both ends of which were hidden in the water, but the higher curved part of which, still of course underground, was above the water-mark. In this secure and dry retreat it lay up all the winter, and on the return of the warm weather simply slid

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down into the water again. This system it continues to adopt at the present day, and though there may be no alternative for it, it is this system which may eventually bring about, or at least hasten, its extermination.

It is hardly necessary to note the Chinese explanation of the alligator's presence in the Yangtzŭ that it came from Tongking through a long underground canal, the waters of which also brought the seeds of the palm-tree (still to be seen at one or two spots on the banks of the Yangtzŭ). This, to use the stock phrase, "must be relegated to the domain of myth," but is interesting as an example of the danger of reasoning unguided by the light of philosophical principles.

To prove their case, the Chinese would have to adduce very cogent reasons why a tropical creature should undertake such a journey, exile itself from its native habitat, and subject itself to such great inconvenience and danger, whereas, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it would be much safer and more comfortable at home.

I may add that the Yangtzŭ alligator is a true alligator, having all the special peculiarities of the alligator as described in technical works on natural history.

E. T. C. WERNER.

Announcement.—In No. 3 of THE NEW CHINA REVIEW (to appear in June) will appear the first of a valuable series of folklore studies, dealing with Western Ssŭch'uan.

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RECENT LITERATURE.

The Far Eastern Review, Vol. XV. No. 2. February, 1919. (Shanghai; $3.00).

This monthly Review, devoted to engineering, finance, commerce, etc., has, in its February issue, swollen to a volume of some 220 pages, as a "Ports of the Orient Number." It contains an enormous amount of information useful to the trader or manufacturer, concerning business with the treaty ports of China especially, and with other Eastern lands from Japan to Borneo. Besides the fullest information about each separate port it gives a mass of particulars about China's industries, mineral resources, communications, etc., etc. Its great usefulness to business firms will be due to its being up-to-date, and its taking into account the effects of the war in every department of business. The Review is illustrated with a good number of views, maps, etc.

The American Journal of Numismatics, Vol. LI, issued by the American Numismatic Society.

Once a year does the A. N. S. put forth this work, involving an amount of work and a degree of patience, to be appreciated only by numismatists. The volume before us presents material nowhere else available. The leading article, a study of the Seleucid coins of Antioch, the first of its kind, is by Edw. T. Newell, the president of the Society.

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Some of the characters on these Seleucid coins look as if they might lead back to the time when Egyptian and Chinese hieroglyphs were "pên chia" (本家). There are those which look very like cousins to the old forms of Chu (主), and tung (東) and jih (日).

Of peculiar interest is this article to the friends of Alopen, as bringing out the civilization from which he later led the Nestorian Christians to China.

For everyday life we commend the article on "Private Silver Coins issued in the United States." "Portrait Reliefs in their Relation to Art and Life" by Spicer-Simson, the well known European sculptor of medals, shows the artist's touch, not only as to matter, which we should expect from his profession, but also as to literary style.

Students will enjoy, what smatterers would skip, *viz.* the Index. One could easily write an article that would not be turned down, even by discriminating editors, on this index alone, the work of the Society's accomplished secretary, Sydney P. Noe.

Let not the apparent lacuna as to Oriental coins lead to erroneous inferences. The Society gives strong support to numismatism in the Orient. This was well known, *e.g.* by the late H. A. Ramsden. His beautiful collection of Oriental coins, fifteen thousand specimens, classified with the most minute care, were the apple of his eye. Building a vault for them, adjoining his bed-room, Ramsden just lived therein. To provide for this collection the best possible future, he chose this Society as custodians, giving them in his will the preference over the British Museum and even his own son.

The Index of this volume shows a rich vein of numismatology in the file of the Journal, and the rooms of the beautiful new building on upper Broadway, with the Ramsden, the Roe, and other collections, furnish investigators a mine probably not surpassed elsewhere.

It is to be hoped that the Society will catalogue its Oriental coins, and in doing so salvage Ramsden's unfinished catalogue before his Chinese and Japanese collaborators are scattered.

HUGH W. WHITE.

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The I-Li or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial. Translated from the Chinese with Introduction, Notes and Plan, by JOHN STEELE, M.A., D.LIT. London: Probsthain & Co. 1917. Two Vols. 24*s*.

The *I-Li* cannot be regarded as light literature and is not a popular book even in China; Dr. Steele has therefore done a bold thing in publishing it in English, especially in war-time.

Of the *san li*, the three works with *li* in the title, the *I-li*, the *Chou Li* and the *Li chi*, this work is regarded as earliest. It is not, however, all of one period, and the archaic terseness which Dr. Steele calls the 'gnomic' style of some portions is in contrast with the more developed language of parts which must be later.

The word 'meticulous' is of recent usage in English, but the signification is ancient enough: it is the word suitable to describe the whole of the regulations and etiquette of this work. The elaboration of ceremonial detail is truly astonishing. It could only suit an age when men had little to do and unlimited time to do it in. It might have originated in the weary days of Methusaleh before the flood, when it must have been so difficult to kill the time.

In the Leviticus of the Bible,—with which book the *I-Li* may in some points be most suitably compared,—there is a manifest purpose in the detail: an unformed people was being educated to definite views of the Deity, His holiness, His justice, His mercy; the lessons could be impressed on a backward race by a thousand minute regulations as to what they might do or might not do in worshipping and serving Him. But in the *I-Li* we miss any such clue. That officials visiting one another should bring pheasants as suitable gifts, fresh ones in summer, dried ones in winter, is all very well; but why must the birds' heads be kept turned to the left? It seems a mere puerility, a regulation without basis or purpose. We say 'seems,' for we doubt if any such custom was arbitrary in its origin; but the origins are too remote, and the regulations as they stand appear to have been invented to occupy a vacant mind, to pass the time and to add a factitious interest to life.

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Although reading the book through would mean intense weariness, yet the points which excite interest by baffling curiosity are numerous, and to students of comparative religion and of sociology the work is a treasure. It reveals to some extent the mind and life of a people some thirty centuries ago, a people which remains with us to-day: the race may have outgrown the *I-Li*, but the *I-Li* is *in it*, as surely though not as evidently as Leviticus is in the modern Jew.

Sacrifice, which has such a universal place in religion; the worship of ancestors; the ancient ideas as to the personality of God; these and other such important questions have much light thrown on them by the study of the *I-Li*. And to descend to more trifling but interesting matters there is the cooking of dogs for dainties at the ceremonial banquets, and the fact that while less is said about eating there is much about drinking, and it would appear ceremonially *de rigueur* that the guests should get tipsy!

The work has not been done into English before, but there is a French translation by R. P. Couvreur, the well known sinologue of the Lazarist Mission, published in 1916. Scholars will be keen to compare the two results.

The translation is careful and scholarly; the arrangement of text and notes is admirable; there is a capital index, and the publishers have done their share of the work very well indeed.

Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission; the Growth of a Work of God. With Portrait and Map. By Dr. and Mrs. HOWARD TAYLOR. (London: Morgan and Scott, 9*s*.; Shanghai: China Inland Mission, $3.50). 1918.

A newspaper which reviewed the first number of this Review wrote in justification of the mandarin's hatred of Christian teaching and stated that the Chinese officials (of the old sort too) understood Christianity better than the average missionary did! Critics who have this animus against Missions will find this book abhorrent, and we ourselves are not ready to praise its general style. But to laugh at a man saying his prayers is mere vulgarity, and many readers will be

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able to appreciate the character of Hudson Taylor while they may dislike his religious tone and condemn his work.

For there is no doubt he was remarkable man and did a great work in China. This Review has had a brief paper on Chavannes and another on Archibald Little: with regard to influence on China the missionary who founded the China Inland Mission must surely take his place with the sinologue and the merchant.

The work is not a biography; it begins with his 28th year (1860), and is the sequel to an earlier book. It is equally an account of the China Inland Mission. All religious people of the ultra-evangelical school will delight in it. To others,—perhaps to most of our readers,—the interest will be largely psychological. Here is a man who was seized and possessed with an idea; who worked out that idea with intense tenacity of purpose; who faced long years of most arduous and self-sacrificing labour, conquered difficulties and opposition that seemed insurmountable; braved physical danger and suffering, and then died in old age with the consciousness of success. If ever any man, this man knew what it was to "scorn delights and live laborious days," and in the end he had accomplished something. Apart from sympathy with his great idea and the work he did, it is honest to admire the unflinching, life-long devotion to a purpose, and when we think of the many futile lives that are lived we may even envy him and say "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

Combined with this devouring zeal and fixity of aim, which alone would have made him a remarkable man, he had many softer, homely virtues which endeared him greatly to his intimates. Unselfishness, sympathy, humility, became second nature in him. To judge him rightly it is necessary to abstract him from the particular work he did and the world he lived in, and to consider what the same force would have accomplished in some other line, if, for example, he had been as completely a political or social reformer as he was a missionary.

His theology was of the narrowest type. He was driven by such ideas as that the Chinese were "perishing" at the

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rate of a million a month; that the return of Christ might be expected at any moment; that every word in the Bible was the *ipse dixit* of God without possibility of error. The bibliolatry of the school is as emphatic as papal infallibility, and to many both are equally objectionable. But history shows us how often a narrow dogmatic creed has produced the most forceful natures, and also the most contrary measures. It was the conviction that unbelief means eternal damnation which logically produced both the Spanish Inquisition and the China Inland Mission.

To speak in the language of his religious school, Hudson Taylor would have claimed nothing as due to himself but would have put down all success directly to the power of God working through him. He lived in constant reliance on guidance and help from the unseen; and, like Luther, when most pressed with work and short of time, would spend an extra hour in prayer. If such a life has little in common with our own, and has no attraction for us, it is still wiser to admire and wonder than to scoff.

The growth of the C. I. M. is given with excess of detail. The authors do not know the value and power of a reticent style of writing. There is a sense in the reader of too great intimacy, and one sometimes feels like an intruder; there is an overloading of texts and what one may call scriptural tags. The book might have lost nothing in respect of information by being reduced to half its length, and might have gained in power. As it is the value will be hidden from many by what they will term sentimental gush. At the same time to a discriminating reader there will be revealed an interesting and powerful personality and the growth of an important and remarkable organization.

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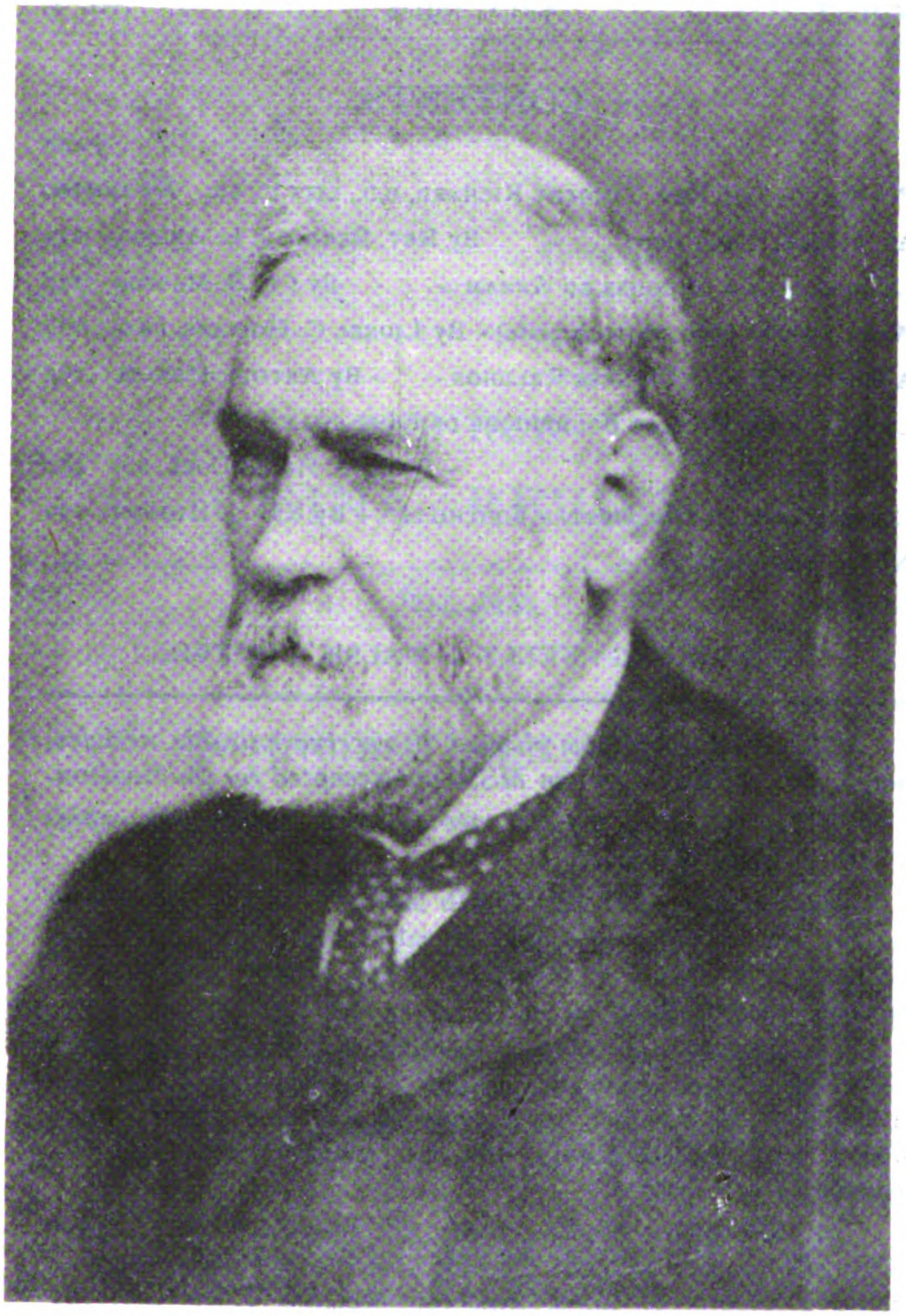

THE REV. TIMOTHY RICHARD, D.D., LITT.D., etc.

[*Elliot & Fry.*]

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